

AN *W Brothby*
HISTORY

OF
IRELAND,

From the Year 1599, to 1603.

With a short Narration of the State of
the Kingdom from the Year 1169.

To which is added, A

DESCRIPTION

OF
IRELAND.

By *FYNES MORYSON*, Gent.

Secretary to the Lord Mountjoy, then Lord Deputy.

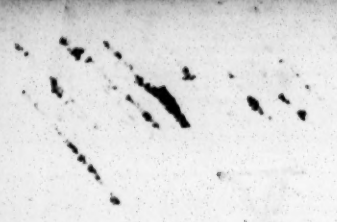
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HISTORICAL



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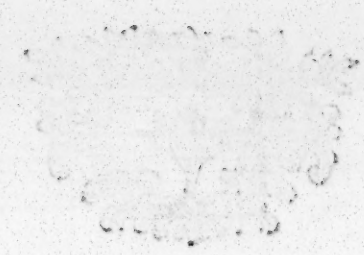
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III



THE
REBELLION
OF
HUGH Earl of Tyrone,
AND THE
Appeasing thereof ; Written in Form
of a JOURNAL.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of the Induction or Preface to my Irish Journal, and a compendious Narration how CHARLES BLOUNT, Lord Mountjoy (my Lord and Master of happy Memory) was chosen Lord Deputy of Ireland; and of this worthy Lord's Quality, as also of the Councils in general, by which he broke the Rebels Hearts, and gave Peace to that troubled State. Together with his particular Actions in the End of the Year 1599.

AT my Return from Scotland about the Month of September in the Year 1598, I retir'd myself to *Healing* (my dear Sister *Faith Muffendine's* House, being situate
A near

near the South Bank of *Humber*, in the County of *Lincoln*, in which Place (and my dear Sister *Jane Alington's* House near adjoining) whilst I pass'd an idle Year, I had a pleasing Opportunity to gather into some Order out of confused and torn Writings the particular Observations of my former Travels, to be after more deliberately digested at Leisure. After this Year spent in Country Solace, the Hopes of Preferment drew me into *Ireland*; of which Journey being to write in another Manner than I have formerly done of other Countries, namely, rather as a Soldier than as a Traveller, as one abiding in Camps more than in Cities, as one lodging in Tents more than in Inns.

I am now to treat of the famous and most dangerous Rebellion of *Hugh*, Earl of *Tyrone*, calling himself the *ó Neal*, (a fatal Name to the Chief of the Sept or Family of the *ó Neals*), and this I will do, according to the Course of my former Travels, namely, in this Place not writing historically, but making only a Journal, or bare Narration of daily Accidents, and for the rest referring the Discourse of *Ireland* for all Particulars to the several Heads, wherein each Point is jointly handled thro' all the Dominions of which I have written; only in this Place, for the better understanding of that which I principally purpose to write, I must crave leave to fetch some short Remembrances (by the Way of Preface) higher than the Time of my own being in *Ireland*, in the Lord *Mountjoy's* Government.

 About the Year 1169, (not to speak
Anno 1169. of the Kind of Subjection which the
Irish are written to have acknowledged to *Gurguntius* and some *British* Kings) *Henry* the second being himself distracted with *French* Affairs, gave the Earl of *Strangbow* Leave, by Letters Patents, to aid *Dermot Morrogh* King of *Leinster* against the
King

Chap. I. of IRELAND.

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King of *Meath*. And this Earl marrying *Eva*, the Daughter of *Dermot*, was at his Death made by him Heir of his Kingdom. Shortly after King *Henry* himself landed at *Waterford*, and whilst he abode in *Ireland*, first *Dermot Mac Carthy* King of *Cork* and the South Part of *Munster*, and *Dunewald* *ô Brian* King of *Limrick* and the North Part of *Munster*, then *Orwark* King of *Meath*, and *Roderick* King of *Connaught*, (by singular Privilege over the rest call'd the King of *Ireland*) and the above-named King of *Leinster* yet living, did yield themselves Vassals unto King *Henry*, who for the Time was saluted Lord of *Ireland* (the Title of King being first assumed by Act of Parliament to King *Henry* the eighth many Years after.) In the said *Henry* the second's Reign, Sir *John de Courcy* with four hundred voluntary *English* Soldiers sent over, did in five Battles subdue *Ulster*, and stretch'd the Bounds of the *English* Pale as far as *Dunluce* in the most Northern Parts of *Ulster*.

About 1204, *John Courcy* of *English* Blood, Earl of *Ulster* and *Connaught*, did rebel, and was subdued by *Hugh Lacy*. About 1210 the *Lacies* of *English* Blood rebelling, were subdu'd by King *John*, who after some three Months stay returned back into *England*, where the *Lacies* found Friends to be restored to their Earldom of *Ulster*. About 1291 *ô Hanlon* and some *Ulster* Lords troubling the Peace, were suppressed by the *English* Colonies. From 1315 to 1318 the *Scots* made great Cumbustions in *Ireland* to whom many *Irish* Families joined themselves, and both were subdued by the *English* Colonies. In the Year 1339 Anno 1339. general War was between the *English* Colonies and the *Irish*, in which infinite numbers of the *Irish* perished. Hitherto *Ireland* was governed by a Lord Justice, who held the Place sometimes for few Years, sometimes for many. In the Year

1340, *John Darcy*, an *Englishman*, was made Justice for Life, and the next Year did exercise the Place by his own Deputy (which neither before nor after I find to have been granted to any, but some few of the Royal Blood.)

About the Year 1341, the *English-Irish* (or *English Colonies*,) being degenerated, first began to be Enemies to the *English*, and themselves calling a Parliament, wrote to the King, that they would not indure the Insolences of his Ministers, yet most of the Justices hitherto were of the *English-Irish* (or *English*, born in *Ireland*.)

About the Year 1361, *Lionel*, Duke of *Clarence*, was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and sometimes left his Deputy to govern it. This Duke being Earl of *Ulster* and Lord of *Connaught* by the Right of his Wife, came over with an Army of some 1500 by Pole, and quitted the borders of the *English* Pale in low *Leinster*. He reformed the *English-Irish*, grown barbarous (by embracing the tyrannical Laws of the *Irish*, most profitable to them, which caused them likewise to take *Irish* Names, and to use their Language and Apparel.) To which Purpose good Laws were made in Parliament, and great Reformation followed, as well therein, as in the Power of the *English*, for the seven Years of his Lieutenancy, and after, till the fatal Wars of *York* and *Lancaster* Houses. And hitherto most of the Justices were *English-Irish*.

About the Year 1400, *Richard* the second, in the eighteenth Year of his

Reign, came with an Army of four thousand Men at Arms, and thirty thousand Archers, fully to subdue the *Irish*: But pacified by their Submissions, and no act of Moment otherwise done, he returned with his Army into *England*. After, to revenge the Death of the Earl of *March* his Lieutenant, he came again with a like Army: But

was

was suddenly recalled by the Arrival of *Henry* the fourth in *England*, during the said King's Reign, *Ireland* was governed by his Lord Lieutenants, sent from *England*, and in the Reigns of *Henry* the fourth, and *Henry* the fifth, by Justices for the most Part chosen of the *English-Irish*, only the Lord *Scroope* for eight Years, was Deputy to *Thomas* the second, Son to *Henry* the fourth, who was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

This I write out of the Annals of *Ireland* printed by *Camden*. In which, from the first Conquest of *Ireland*, to the following Wars between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* in *England*, I find small or no mention of the *o Neals* Greatness among the *Irish* Lords. And I find very rare mention of any Seditions in *Ulster*, especially among the Northern *Irish*, so as that Province, from the first Conquest to these Civil *English* Wars, doth thereby seem to have been one of the most peaceable and most subject to the *English*. Neither read I therein, of great Forces or Sums of Money sent out of *England* into *Ireland*, (except Voluntaries, and the cursory Journies of King *John* and King *Richard* the second) but rather that for the most part all Seditions as well between the *English-Irish*, and the meer *Irish*, as between the *English-Irish* themselves, were pacified by the Forces and Expences of the same Kingdom.

During the said Civil War between *York* and *Lancaster*, for *England*, most of the Noble Families were wasted, and some destroyed; whereupon the *English-Irish*, which hitherto had valiantly maintained their Conquest, now began to repair into *England*, partly to bear out the Factions, partly to inherit the Lands of their Kinsmen, of whom they were descended: And the meer *Irish* boldly rushed into the Possessions, which the other had left void in *Ireland*. And from that time, under

der the Government of *English* Lieutenants and Deputies, Seditions and Murders grew more frequent, the Authority of the *English* Kings became less esteemed of the *Irish*, than in former times, and the *English* Pale had sometimes larger, sometimes straighter limits, according to the divers Successes of the *Irish* Affairs at divers times.

After the appeasing of the said bloody War, I find some 1000 Men sent over by *Henry* the seventh, to suppress *Perkin Warbeck*, an *English* Rebel, and 500 Men sent by *Henry* the eighth to suppress the *Geraldines* of *English* Race, rebelling against him. Otherwise the said Annals mention no great or general Rebellion in *Ireland*, especially such, by which either much Blood of the *English* was spilt, or much of our Treasure exhausted, till the happy reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. For in this only Age, Religion rather than Liberty first began to be made the Cloak of Ambition, and the *Roman* Locusts, to maintain the Pope's usurped Power, breathed every where Fire and Sword, and not only made strong Combinations against those of the reformed Religion in all Kingdoms, but were not ashamed to proclaim and promise Heaven for a Reward, to such Cut-throats as should lay violent hands on the sacred Persons of such Princes, as opposed their Tyranny. Amongst which, this famous Queen being of greatest Power, and most happy in Success against them; they not only left nothing unattempted against her sacred Person, and her Crown of *England*, but whether encouraged by the blind Zeal of the ignorant *Irish* to Popery, or animated by an old Prophecy,

*He that will England win,
Must with Ireland first begin.*

Did also raise two strong and dangerous Rebellions in *Ireland*, the one of the Earl of *Desmond*, and the other of the Earl of *Tyrone*, (not to speak of the Troubles made by *Shane ó Neal*, the easy settling

settling whereof shall be only mentioned in the treating of *Tyrone's* Ancestors.) Howbeit the wanted general Peace seems to have continued till after the 19th Year of the Queen's Reign, being 1577: At which Time the Anno 1577. Lords of *Connaught*, and *Ororke*, for their particular, made a Composition for their Lands with Sir *Nicholas Malby*, Governor of that Province, wherein they were content to yield unto the Queen so large a Rent, and such Services, (both of Labourers to work upon occasion of fortifying, and of Horse and Foot to serve upon occasion of War,) as it seems the Popish Combinations had not yet wrought in them any alienation of Mind from their wanted Awe and Reverence of the Crown of *England*.

Touching the Rebellion of *Gerald Earl of Desmond*: *John Gerald* the The Rebellion of Son of *Thomas* (whose Progenitors the Earl of Desmond. of *English* Race, had long behaved themselves valiantly in subduing the *Irish*) had *Kildare* given him by King *Edward* the second, with Title of an Earl. And this Family of the *Fitz-Geralds*, or *Geraldens*, (as they are now called) long flourished, not only keeping *Ireland* in Obedience to the King; but infesting the Sea Coasts of the *Welsh*, not yet united to the Crown of *England*,) and never raised Arms against *England*, till *Thomas Fitz-Gerald*, the Son of *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, Earl of *Kildare*, and Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, under King *Henry* the eighth, (whom the King had called into *England*, and there brought in question for his ill Government,) hearing by light and false Rumour that his Father was executed, rashly took Arms against the King, inviting the Emperor *Charles* the fifth to invade *Ireland*, which he in the mean time wasted with Fire and Sword. This *Thomas* and five of his Uncles were shortly after hanged, the Father being before dead of Grief.

But Queen *Mary* restored this Family to Honour and Lands, though they never after recovered their former Dignity. Of these *Geralds* most of the greatest Lords in *Munster* are descended, (though for divers Causes, many of them have taken other Surnames) and particularly the Earls of *Desmond*.

Maurice Fitz-Thomas a *Geraldine* was first created Earl of *Desmond*, by *Edward* the third. Of whose Posterity many excelled in Wealth, Virtue, and honourable Reputation, far extending their Power. But *James* invaded his Nephews Inheritance by Force, and imposed heavy Exactions on all depending upon him, whose Son *Thomas*, following his Father's Steps, was by the Lord Deputy beheaded in the Year 1467: His Sons were restored, and the Earldom remained in his Posterity, Anno 1578. till *Gerald* Earl of *Desmond* in the Year 1578 rebelled against Queen *Elizabeth*.

To whose Aid certain Bands of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, sent by Pope *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Philip* King of *Spain*, landed at *Smerwic*, who besieged by the Lord *Arthur Grey*, then Lord Deputy, in a Fort they had built, and called the Fort *Del Ore*, shortly after yielded themselves, in the Year 1583, and were put to the Sword, as the Necessity of that State, and their manner of invading the Land, was then said to require. And the Earl of *Desmond* flying into the Woods, was there in a Cottage killed, and his Head cut off, (being, as they say, betrayed by his own Followers, wherein the *Ulster* Men challenge an Honour of Faithfulness to their Lords, above those of *Munster*; for in the following Wars none of them could be induced by Fear or Reward, to lay Hands on their revered *ó Neal*.) Thus with an Army of six thousand Men, whereof some four thousand were newly sent over at divers Times, this Rebellion of *Desmond* in *Munster* was soon appeased. The Earldome of *Desmond* was by Authority of Parliament adjudged to the

the Crown, and made a County, with Sheriffs appointed yearly to be chosen by the Lord Deputy.

Upon the Attainder of the said Earl of *Desmond* and his Confederates, all the Lands falling to the Crown, were in Acres of *English* measure about

574628 Acres.

Hereof great Part was restored to the Offenders, as to *Patrick Condon* his Country, to the White Knight his Country, to some of the *Geraldines*, and to others their Confederates no small Portions. The rest was divided into Seigniories, granted by Letters Patents to certain *English* Knights and Esqs; which upon this Gift, and the Conditions whereunto they were tied, had the common Name of Undertakers.

In *Kerry* and *Desmond*, by Patent, to Sir *William Harbert*, to *Charol Harbert*, to Sir *Valentine Browne*, to Sir *Edward Denny*, besides an uncertain Portion to *George Stone* and *John Chapman* and their Heirs, were granted - - - - -

30560 Acres
with Yearly
Rents 524 l. 6 s.
8 d. sterl.

In *Limrick* by Patent to Sir *Henry Billinsley*, to *William Carter*, to *Edmund Mannering*, to *William Trenchard*, to Sir *George Bourcher*, to Sir *George Thornton*, to *Richard Fitton*, to *Robert Annesley*, to *Edward Barkley*, to Sir *Henry Uthered*, to Sir *William Courtney*, to *Robert Strowde*, and to their Heirs, were granted - - - - -

96165 Acres,
with Rents 933 l.
4 s. $\frac{1}{2}$. sterl.

In *Cork*, by Patent to *Vane*
Beacher, to *Henry North*, to *Ar-*
thur Rawlins, to *Arthur Hide*,
 to *Hugh Cusse*, to *Sir Thomas* 88037 Acres,
Norris, to *Wartham Sent-leger*, } with Rents 512 l.
 to *Sir Thomas Stoyes*, to *Master* 7 s. 6. d. $\frac{1}{2}$. sterl.
Spencer, to *Thomas Fleetwood*,
 and *Marmaduke Edmunds*, and
 to their Heirs were granted - - - }

In *Waterford* and *Tipperary*
 by Patent to the Earl of *Or-* 22910 Acres,
mond, to *Sir Christopher Hatton*, } with Rents 303 l.
 to *Sir Edward Fitton*, to *Sir* 3 d. sterl.
Walter Rawleigh, and to their
 Heirs were granted - - - }

These Undertakers did not people these Seigniories granted them and their Heirs by Patent, (as they were bound) with well affected *English*, but either sold them to *English* Papists, (such as were most turbulent, and so being daily troubled and questioned by the *English* Magistrate, were like to give the most Money for the *Irish* Land) or otherwise disposed them to their best Profit, without respect of the Publick Good: neither did they build Castles, and do other Things (according to their Covenants, for the Publick Good, but only sought their private Ends, and so this her Majesty's Bounty to them, turned not to the strengthning, but rather to the weakning of the *English* Government in that Province of *Munster*.

Tyrone's
 Rebellion. Touching the Rebellion of the Earl of
Tyrone, the worthy Antiquary *Camden*
 mentioned *Neal* the Great, tyrannizing in
Ulster, and great Part of *Ireland*, before
 the coming of *St. Patrick* into that Kingdom, a-
 bout the Year of our Lord 431, adding that this
 Family notwithstanding lived after more obscurely,
 not only till the *English* entered to conquer *Ireland*,
 about the Year 1169: But after that, to the Time
 that

that the *Scots* under *Edward Bruce*, attempted to conquer that Kingdom, about the Year 1318. In which turbulent Time, *Donevaldus ó Neal* started up, and in his Letters to the Pope stiled himself King of *Ulster*, and true Heir of all *Ireland*. Further, *Camden* addeth, that after the appeasing of these Troubles, this new King vanished, and his Posterity lurked in Obscurity, till the Civil Wars of *England*, between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. The Seed whereof was sown by *Henry* the fourth of *Lancaster* Family, deposing *Richard* the second of *York* Family, and usurping the Crown, though *Henry* the fourth and his Son *Henry* the fifth by their Valour so maintained this Usurpation, as no Civil War broke forth in their Time, nor so long as the noble Brothers of *Henry* the fifth, and Uncles to *Henry* the sixth lived. After, between *Henry* the sixth of *Lancaster* Family, and *Edward* the fourth of *York* Family, this bloody War was long continued, but ended in the Death of the next Successor, *Richard* the third, a double Usurper, both of the House of *Lancaster*, and the Heirs of his Brother *Edward* the fourth of the House of *York*. After, in the Marriage of *Henry* the seventh with the Daughter and Heir of *Edward* the fourth, both these Houses were united; and so this bloody War well ended. From this Time, behold the Pedigree of the *ó Neals*.

Owen *o* Neal.

Hugh Mac Owen. Henry Mac Owen *o* Neal marry'd the Daughter of Thomas Earl of Kildare a *Giraldine*.

Art Mac Hugh. Con More (or Great) marry'd the Daughter of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, his Mother's Niece, whose Father and himself waxing bold upon the Power of the Earls of Kildare, tyrannized over the People, and despised the Titles of Earls, Marquises, Dukes, or Princes, in regard of that of *o* Neal.

Con, surnamed *Bacco* (or *Lame*), succeeded *o* Neal, who curs'd his Posterity if they should learn *English*, sow Corn, or build Houses, to invite the *English*. His Power being suspected of Henry the eighth, and the King's Power, after the Suppression of the Earls of Kildare, being feared of him, who had rebelled with the Earl, he sail'd into *England*, and renouncing the

Neal Moore } { Phelime Roe
Mac Art. } { Mac Art.
A B

Neal Con-
nelagh.
F
Name

D

A. B.

D.

F.

Name of *ó Neal*, and surrendring his Inheritance held by the *Irish* Law of Tanistry, (by which a Man is prefer'd to a Boy, and the Uncle to that Nephew, whose Grandfather overlives the Father, and commonly the most active Knave, not the next Heir, is chosen) had his Land re-granted to him from the King, under the great Seal of *England*, as to his Vassal, with Title of Earl of *Tyrone*. Thus in the three and thirtieth Year of *Henry* the eighth an Act of Parliament was made in *Ireland*, with Consent of the three Estates of that Kingdom, whereby the Usurpation of the Title of *ó Neal* was made Capital to this Family, and King *Henry* and his Successors (the former Stile of Lords being changed) were stil'd Kings of *Ireland*, and the Laws of *England* were received to be of Force in that Kingdom.

Shane (or *John*) *ó Neal* succeeding his Father, by killing his Brother *Matthew*, and vexing his Father to Death, was cruel and barbarous, and tyrannically challenged the neighbour Lords to be his Subjects, as *Mac Gennis*, *Mac Guire*, *Mac Mahown*, *ó Reily*, *ó Hanlon*, *ó Cahon*, *Mac Brien*, *ó Hagan*, *ó Quin*, *Mac Cartan*, *Mac Donnel Galloglasse*: and when *Henry Sidney* expostulated this (being Lord Justice in the

*Hugh Mac
Neal Moore.*

A.

*Henry Mac
Phelime Roe.*

B.

*Phelime Hugh,
eldest Son.*

C.

D.

F. F.

Absence

A.B.C.

D.

E.

F.

Absence of *Matthew* & *Turlogh Lyn-*
 the Earl of *Kelly*, till fif- *nogh* took the
Suffex, Lord teen Years of Title of &
 Deputy,) he Age reputed *Neal* after
 offered to the Son of a *Shane*: He
 prove by Black-Smith was aged, and
 Writings, at *Dundalk*, so lov'd Qui-
 that his An- given *Con* & etness, the
 cestors had *Neal* by a rather for
 this Authori- Smith's Wife Fear of the
 ty over them, at her Death. Children of
 denying that This Bastard *Shane* and of
 his Father he appointed *Matthew* the
 had any Pow- to succeed Bastard. He
 er to resign him by the was obedient
 his Lands to King's Let- to the Queen,
 the King, ters Patents, but made
 which he at which War upon &
 held only for Time he was *Donnel*, and
 Life by Ta- created Baron the Island
 nistry Law, of *Dungan-* *Scots*, of
 without the *non*: But he whom he kil-
 Consent of was killed in led in the
 the People, his Father's Field *Alex-*
 being to Life-time by *ander*. Oge,
 chuse & *Neal*, *Shane*, the le- who mur-
 that is, the gitimate Son thered *Shane*
 Chief of the of *Con*, whose & *Neal*.
 Name). He Bastard this
 made War a- *Matthew* was.
 gainst & *Reily*,
 and imprisoned *Collagh*
Mac Donnel. But when
Thomas, Earl of *Suffex*,
 Lord Deputy, led the Eng-
 lish Forces against him,
 he by the Counsel of the

Sir *Arthur*
 & *Neal*,
 Knight, liv-
 ing in
 this Rebelli-
 on. This Sir
Arthur serv'd
 the Queen a-

A.B.C.

D.

E.

F.

Earl

gainst

A.B.C.

D.

E.

F.

Earl of *Kildare*, sail'd in-
to *England*, and submitted
himself to *Q. Elizabeth*,
and after for a while con-
formed himself to Obedi-
ence and Civility. But
when he tyrannized over
the *Irish* Lords, and they
craved Succour of *Henry*
Sidney, Lord Deputy, in
the Year 1565, he leading
an Army against him, sent
Edward Randolph, with
seven Companies of Foot,
and a Troop of Horse, by
Sea to *Derry* and *Loughfoyle*, to assault
the Rebel on the back: Against whom
the Rebel turning all his Forces was so
defeated, as he fled for Succour to the
Scots, whose Brother he had killed; and
they at first entertaining him well, after
fell to Words, and killed him in the Year
1567. After in a Parliament at *Dublin*,
he was condemn'd of Treason and his
Lands confiscated, and a Law made that
no Man should after that presume to take
the Name and Title of *ó Neal*.

gainst *Hugh*,
the Arch-
Rebel, who
had two of
his Sons in
Prison, but
two or three
other Sons
were with
their Father
at *Loughfoyle*
among the
English.

He had three Sons, *Henry*, *Con*, and
Turlogh, cast in Prison by *Hugh* the Re-
bel.

A.B.C.

E.

Owen

A.	B.	C.	E.
Owen Mac Hugh Neal Moore, offer'd to serve against Traitor Hugh.	Turlogh Mac Henry of the Fuse, Rebel with Hugh.	Turlogh Brafilogh.	
1	1		
Four Sons, Tur- logh, Hugh, Bryan, and Henry, living when Hugh & Neal rebelled.	Five Sons then living.	Six Sons at least then living, and able to serve the Queen.	

Brian kill'd by & Donnel, at the Instance of Shane & Neal.	Hugh preserved by the English from Shane, marry'd the Daughter of Tur- logh Linnogh & Neal, whom he put away by Divorce, and after proved an Arch-Rebel.	Cormoc pre- served from Shane by the English, now rebellling with Hugh.
--	--	--

Hugh, Earl
of Tyrone.

This Hugh, Son to the Bastard Mat-
thew, (born of a Smith's Wife, and re-
puted the Smith's Son till he was fifteen Years of
Age) lived sometimes in *Ireland*, and much in the
Court of *England*, and was supported against Tur-
logh Linnogh & Neal, with the Title of Baron of
Dungannon, by his Father's Right. He had a
Troop of Horse in Queen *Elizabeth's* Pay, in the
late Wars of the Earl of *Desmond*, in which and
all Occasions of Service he behaved himself so va-
liantly, as the Queen gave him a yearly Pension of
one thousand Marks. He was of a mean Stature,
but a strong Body, able to endure Labours, Watch-
ing, and hard Fare, being withal industrious, and
active,

active, valiant, affable, and apt to manage great Affairs, and of a high, dissembling, subtle, and profound Wit. So as many deemed him born, either for the great Good or Ill of his Country: In an *Irish* Parliament he put up his Petition, that by Virtue of the Letters Patents granted to his Grandfather, to his Father and his Heirs, he might there have the Place and Title of the Earl of *Tyrone*, and be admitted to this his Inheritance. The Title and Place were there granted to him, but the Inheritance (in regard the Kings of *England* by the Attainder of *Shane*, were thereof invested) was referred to the Queen's Pleasure. For the obtaining whereof, Sir *John Perrot*, then Lord Deputy, upon his Promise of a great Rent to be reserved to the Crown, gave him his Letters of Recommendation into *England*, where he so well knew to humour the Court, as in the Year 1587, he got the Queen's Letters Patents under the great Seal of *England*, for the Earldom of *Tyr-Oen*, without any Reservation of the Rent he had promised to the Lord Deputy, wherewith, though his Lordship were offended, in that the Patent was not passed in *Ireland*, and so the said Rent omitted, yet in Reverence to the great Lords, who had procured this Grant in *England*, he did forbear to oppose the same. The Conditions of this Grant were, that the Bounds of *Tyrone* should be limited; That one or two Places (namely, that of *Blackwater*) should be reserved for the building of Forts, and keeping of Garrisons therein; that the Sons of *Shane* and *Turlogh* should be provided for; and that he should challenge no Authority over the neighbour Lords bordering upon *Tyrone*, or any where out of that County. And such were his Endeavours in the Queen's Service, such his Protestations of Faith and Thankfulness, as *Turlogh Linnogh*, by the Queen's Intercession, was induced (upon certain Conditions for his Maintenance) to

surrender the County, and all Command in those Parts unto him.

Ann. 1588.

The *Spanish* (forsooth) invincible Navy, sent to invade *England*, in the Year 1588, being dispersed, and proving nothing less than invincible, many of them were wrecked on the Coasts of *Ireland*, whereof some were harboured by the Earl of *Tyrone*, with whom since he was thought to have plotted the following Mischiefs.

Ann. 1589.

Sir William
Fitz-wil-
liams Lord
Deputy.

And shortly after (in the End of this Year, or the Beginning of the next) Sir *John Perrot* being revoked, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, was sent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*. I have heard that he having been formerly Lord Deputy, when he returned and sued for Recompence of his Service, a great Lord should answer him, that such Employments were Preferments, and not Services to challenge Reward: And therefore, if in this new Employment any shall think that he followed this Counsel, seeking to make it a Preferment to him and his Family, I do not much marvel thereat. This I write of hearsay, but as in the general Relation following, I purpose to write nothing which is not warranted either by Relations presented to the Queen, by the principal Counsellors of *Ireland*, or by Letters interchanged between the States of *England* and *Ireland*, or like authentical Writings; so far the Particular of the abovenamed Lord Deputy, if perhaps some may think any thing observed by me to derogate from him, I protest, that whatsoever I write is in like sort warranted, and may not be omitted without the Scandal of historical Integrity, being Objections frequently made by the Rebels, for Excuse of their Disloyalty, as well in all their Petitions, as Treaties of Peace: But howsoever I cannot but mention these Imputations, yet I advise the Reader to judge of them, as Objections

jections of the Rebels, who in their Nature are clamorous, and could no way make their Excuse so plausible, as by scandalizing the chief Governor. And I further protest, that as I shall in the due Place once mention an honourable Answer of this Lord Deputy, to Part of the chief Complaints made by the *Irish* against him, so I would most willingly have inserted his full Justification, if any such Memorial had come to my Hands.

Sir *William Fitz-williams*, being Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, Sir *John Norreys* was Lord President of *Munster*, (who made his Brother, Sir *Thomas*, his Vice-president,) and Sir *Richard Bingham* was Governor of *Connaught*. This Lord Deputy now again entring the Government of *Ireland*, that Kingdom was in the best Estate that it had been in of long time, not only peaceable and quiet, (so as any the greatest Lord called by Letter or Messenger, readily came to the State there, and none of them were known to be any way discontented,) but also most plentiful in Corn, Cattle, and all Manner of Victuals. But within three Months after his taking of the Sword, some *Irish* informed him, that the abovenamed *Spaniards*, last Year wrecked on the Coasts of *Connaught* and *Ulster*, had left with the Inhabitants (in whose Hands they fell) great store of Treasure and other Riches. This the Lord Deputy (as the *Irish* say) did greedily seek to get into his Hands, but surely he pretended the Queen's Service, as may appear by a Commission, by which he first assayed to seize the same. This not taking any Effect, he took a Journey himself into those Parts, with Charge to the Queen and Country (as they said) and that in an unseasonable Time of the Year, after *Allballontide*. Where altogether failing of his Purpose, he brought thence with him as Prisoners, two of the best affected Gentlemen to the State in those Parts, whom he deemed to possess

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the greatest Part of those Riches, namely, Sir *Owen Mac Tooly* (Father-in-law to the Earl of *Tyrone*, who had long enjoyed a yearly Pension of one hundred Pound from the Queen, and had kept *ô Donnel* in a good Course of Opposition against *Turlogh Lynnogh ô Neal*) and Sir *John ô Dogharty*, (of *Ulster* Lords best affected to the *English*.) Whereof they first refusing (as they object) to pay for his Enlargement, continued Prisoner till the Beginning of Sir *William Russel*'s Government, who in Pity discharged him, but the old Gentleman's Heart was first broken, so as shortly after he died. The second was released after two Years Restraint, not without paying for his Liberty, (as the *Irish* say.) At this hard Usage of those two *Ulster* Gentlemen, all the great Men of the *Irish*, (especially in those northern Parts) did much repine.

In the Month of *May*, 1590, the Ann. 1590. Earl of *Tyrone* came into *England*, where he was after an easy Manner restrained of his Liberty, because he came without the Lord Deputy's Licence, which Fault repaired by his Submission, he was freed of his Restraint. In the Month of *June*, the Earl agreed before the Lords, to enter Bonds with good Sureties of the Pale, to keep Peace with all his Neighbours, namely, Sir *Turlogh Lynnogh* (who since the renouncing the Title of *ô Neal*, and yielding at the Queen's Intercession, the Government of those Parts to the Earl, was Knighted;) and at his Return to put in Pledges, to be chosen by the Lord Deputy and Council, for more Assurance hereof, and of his Loyalty, as also the Performance of certain Articles signed by him: Provided that the Pledges should not lie in the Castle, but with some Gentlemen in the Pale, or Merchants in *Dublin*, and might be changed every three Months, during her Majesty's Pleasure.

The Articles were to this Effect: To continue loyal and keep the Peace: To renounce the Title
of

of *Neal*, and all intermedling with the Neighbour Lords: That *Tyrone* should be limited, and made a Shire or two, with Goals to be built for holding of Sessions: Not to foster with any neighbour Lord, or any Gentleman out of his Country, not to give Aid to the Island and *Irish-Scots*, nor take any of them: That if for his Defence he needed Forces, he shall levy none out of his Country without special Licence of the State, in which Case he might have *English* Bands. To conclude, with the Lord Deputy within ten Months, about a Composition of Rents and Services to her Majesty for all his Country, according to the above mentioned Composition of *Connaught*, made in the Year 1577. Not to impose any Exactions without Licence of the State on his Country above ordinary, except it be for necessary Forces for his Defence, and that also with Licence: Not to make any Roads into Neighbour Countries, except they be within five Days after a Prey taken: That none of the Country receive any Stealths from Neighbour Countries, nor steal from them, but he to bring forth the Thieves, or drive them out of *Tyrone*: That he execute no Man, except it be by Commission from the Lord Deputy, under the broad Seal for martial Law, and that to be limited. That his Troop of 50 Horse in her Majesty's Pay, be kept compleat for her Service; and that besides he answer a Rising out at every general hosting. That he meddle not with spiritual Livings, nor lay any Charge on them. Not to maintain any Monks or Fryars in his Country: Not to have Intelligence with foreign Traitors. That he take no black Rent of any Neighbours. To cause the Wearing of *English* Apparel, and that none of his Men wear Glibbes (or long Hair:) That he answer for his Brother *Turlough Mac Henry*, Captain of the *Fews*: That in Time of Necessity he sell Victual to the Fort of

Black-water. These he promised to perform upon his Honour before the Lords in *England*, and that his Pledges to be put in, should lie for Performance of them, to his Power. And order was given, that all the Neighbour Lords should be drawn to like Conditions, that so they might not spoil *Tyrone*.

In the Month of *July*, 1590, *Con Mac Shane*, (that is, the Son of *Shane ô Neal*,) accused *Hugh*, Earl of *Tyrone*, of many Practices, to make himself great in the North, and that after the Wreck of the abovenamed *Spaniards*, he conspired with those which fell into his Hands, about a League with the King of *Spain*, to aid him against the Queen. These Articles the Earl answered before the Lords in *England*, denying them, and avowing the Malice of *Con* to proceed of her Majesty's raising him to be Earl of *Tyrone*, and *Con's* Desire to usurp the Name of *ô Neal*, as his Father had done, which Name he laboured to extinguish. He could have spoken nothing more pleasing to this State (as he well knew,) and therefore his Answer was approved: But the Event shewed his dissembling; for within two or three Years, Sir *Turlogh Lynnogh* died, and then the Earl took this Title of *ô Neal* to himself, (which was Treason by Act of Parliament in *Ireland*,) still excusing himself subtilly that he took it upon him, lest some other should usurp it, promising to renounce it, yet beseeching that he might not be urged to promise it upon Oath. *Cambden* affirms that *Hugh ne-Gauelocke*, Bastard to *Shane ô Neal*, exhibited these Articles against the Earl, who after got him into his Hands, and caused him to be hanged, (hardly finding any, in regard of the general Reverence born to the Blood of the *ô Neals*, who would do the Office of Hangman,) and that the Queen pardoned the Earl for this Fact. I doubt not but he writes upon good Ground, and I find
good

good Warrant for that I write the same to be exhibited by *Con Mac Shane*, and both may be reconciled by the exhibiting of the Petition by *Hugh*, in the Name of *Con*.

Sure I am that the Earl durst never enter into Rebellion, till he had gotten the Sons of *Shane ô Neal* to be his Prisoners. Two of them, in this Time of Sir *William Fitz-williams* his Government, were now in the Castle of *Dublin*, and if they had been safely kept, they being true Heirs of *Tyrone* before their Father's Rebellion, would have been a strong Bridle to keep the Earl in Obedience: But they together with *Philip ô Reighly*, (a dangerous Practicer,) and with the eldest Son and Heir of old *ô Donnel*, (both imprisoned by Sir *John Perrot*, in his Government,) shortly after escaped out of Prison, being all Prisoners of great Moment, whose Enlargement gave apparent Overture to ensuing Rebellion. Neither did the *Irish* spare to affirm, that their Escape was wrought by Corruption, because one *Segar*, Constable of the Castle of *Dublin* by Patent, having large Offers made him to permit the Escape of *ô Reighly*, and acquainting the Lord Deputy therewith, was shortly after displaced, and one *Maplesdon*, Servant to the Lord Deputy, was put in his Place, in whose Time those Prisoners escaped. To return to the orderly Course of my Relation.

The Earl, on the last of *August*, and the same Year, 1590, did before the Lord Deputy and Council of *Ireland*, confirm the above mentioned Articles, sent thither out of *England*, faithfully promising by Word, and under his Hand, to perform them. But still he delayed and put off the Performance, by Letters unto both States, intreating that equal Security might be taken of Sir *Turlogh Lynnogh*, and in general of all the bordering Lords, (which he knew at that Time most

difficult to effect,) and by many subtle Shifts, whereof he had Plenty.

About this time *Mac Mabown*, Chieftain of *Monaghan* died, who in his Life time had surrendered this his Country, held by *Tanistry* the *Irish* Law, into her Majesty's Hands, and received a Re-grant thereof, under the broad Seal of *England*, to him and his Heirs Males, and for Default of such, to his Brother *Hugh Roe Mac Mabown*, with other Remainders. And this Man dying without Heirs Males, his said Brother came up to the State, that he might be settled in his Inheritance, hoping to be countenanced and cherished as her Majesty's Patentee, but he found (as the *Irish* say) that he could not be admitted, till he had promised to give about six hundred Cows (for such and no other are the *Irish* bribes.) After he was imprisoned (the *Irish* say for failing in Part of this Payment,) and within a few Days, again enlarged; with Promise that the Lord Deputy himself would go to settle him in his Country of *Monaghan*, whither his Lordship took his Journey shortly after, with him in his Company. At their first Arrival, the Gentleman was clapt in Bolts, and within two Days after, indicted, arraigned, and executed, at his own House, all done (as the *Irish* said) by such Officers, as the Lord Deputy carried with him to that purpose. The *Irish* said, he was found guilty by a Jury of Soldiers, but no Gentlemen or Freeholders, and that of them four *English* Soldiers were suffered to go and come at Pleasure, but the other being *Irish* Kern, were kept straight, and starved, till they found him guilty. The Treason for which he was condemned, was because some two Years before, he pretending a Rent due unto him out of the *Ferney*, upon that Pretence, levied Forces, and so marching into the *Ferney* in a warlike manner, made a Distress for the same, (which by the *English* Law may perhaps be Treason,

son, but in that Country never before subject to Law, it was thought no rare thing, nor great Offence.) The greatest Part of the Country was divided, between four Gentlemen of that Name, under a yearly Rent to the Queen, and (as they said) not without Payment of a good Fine underhand. The Marshal, Sir *Henry Bagnol*, had Part of the Country, Captain *Henslowe* was made Seneschal of the Country, and had the Gentleman's chief House, with a Portion of Land, and to divers others smaller Portions of Land were assigned, and the *Irish* spared not to say, that these Men were all the Contrivers of his Death, and that every one paid something for his Share. Hereupon the *Irish* of that Name, besides the former Allegations, exclaimed that their Kinsman was treacherously executed, to intitle the Queen to his Land, and to extinguish the Name of *Mac Mahown*, and that his Substance was divided between the Lord Deputy and the Marshal, yea, that a Pardon was offered to one of the Jury for his Son, being in danger of the Law, upon Condition he would consent to find this his Kinsman guilty.

Great Part of these Exclamations was contained in a Complaint exhibited, against the Lord Deputy after his Return into *England*, to the Lords of her Majesty's Council, about the End of the Year, 1595, in the Name of *Mac Guire*, and *Ever Mac Cooly* (one of the *Mac Mahowns*, and Chief over the *Irish* in the *Ferney*.) To which Sir *William Fitz-williams*, then sick at his House, sent his Answer in Writing. There first he avows to the Lords, that the Fact of *Mac Mahown*, was first adjudged Treason in *England*, and that his calling in question for it was directed from thence, and for the manner of proceeding herein, not prescribed, that it was just, and contrary to their calumnious Allegations, who complained against him. He further answered, that the most Part of the Country

try was not bestowed on the Marshal, Sir *Henry Bagnol*, but that seven of the chief in that Country had the greatest Part of it, that three hundred Freeholders were raised to her Majesty, with eight hundred Pound yearly Rent, and that all the Country seemed then glad of his Execution, and joyfully received the *English* Laws. The rest of the Complaint he denied, and for the Bribe of Cows in particular, did avow, that *Ever Mac Cooly*, one of the Plaintiffs, offered him seven thousand Cows to make him chief of the Name, when he might have learned, that his Mind was not so poor, to prefer Cows or any Bribes before the Queen's Service.

To return to our Purpose, certain it is, that upon *Mac Mahown's* Execution, Heart-burnings and Loathings of the *English* Government, began to grow in the Northern Lords against the State, and they shunned as much as they could, to admit any Sheriffs, or any *English* to live among them, pretending to fear like Practices to overthrow them.

Ann. 1591. The sixteenth of *July*, 1591, the Earl of *Tyrone* wrote unto the Lords of *England*, excusing himself, that Sir *Turlogh Lynnogh* was wounded by his Men, while he sought to prey his Country. In the same Month he suffered his Country of *Tyrone* to be made Shire-ground, being by certain Commissioners bounded on every Side, and divided into eight Baronies, and the Town of *Dungannon* made the Shire-Town, where the Goal should be. In the Month of *October* he wrote again to the Lords, justifying himself against the Complaint of the Marshal, Sir *Henry Bagnol*, avowing that he had not stoln his Sister, or taken her away by Force, but that after her Brother's many Delays, she willingly going away with him, he married her. And that he had no other Wife, being lawfully divorced from her, whom the Marshal termed his Wife. He complained against the
 Marshal,

Marshal, that he reaped the Benefit of all that in *Ulster*, which by his Endeavours had been brought to her Majesty's Obedience. That he had obtained under the great Seal a Superiority over *Ulster*, which he exercised over him. About this Time the Northern Lords are thought to have conspired, to defend the Romish Religion (for now first among them Religion was made the Cloak of Treason,) to admit no *English* Sheriffs in their Countries, and to defend their Liberty and Rights against the *English*.

In the Month of *August*, 1592, the Earl of *Tyrone* by his Letters to the Lords in *England*, justified himself against the Complaint of Sir *Turlogh Lynnogh*, apparently shewing that his Son *Con o' Neal* did not disturb the Commissioners sitting in *Monaghan*, but that they, having one hundred Foot for their Guard, were afraid of two Horsemen; which they discovered. He wrote further, that he had brought *o' Donnel* into the State, (who since his above-mentioned Escape out of Prison, had stood upon his Defence,) and that he would persuade him to Loyalty, and in case he were obstinate, would serve against him as an Enemy. And further craftily intreated the Lords, that he might have the Marshal's Love, that they being Neighbours, might concur the better for her Majesty's Service, and that their Lordships would approve of his Match with the Marshal's Sister, for whose Content he did the rather desire his Love.

In the Beginning of the Year 1593, or about this Time, a Northern Lord, *Mac Guire*, began to declare himself discontent, and to stand upon his Defence upon the Execution of *Mac Mahown*, and the Jealousies then conceived by the Northern Lords against the *English*. This *Mac Guire*, Chieftain of *Fermannagh* avowed, that he had given three hundred Cows to free his Country

Country from a Sheriff, during the Lord Deputy's Government, and that notwithstanding one Captain *Willis* was made Sheriff of *Fermannagh*, having for his Guard one hundred Men, and leading about some one hundred Women and Boys, all which lived on the Spoil of the Country. Hence this barbarous Lord, taking his Advantage, set upon them, and drove them into a Church, where he would have put them all to the Sword, if the Earl of *Tyrone* had not interposed his Authority, and made Composition for their Lives, with Condition that they should depart the Country. Whereupon the Lord Deputy, Sir *William Fitzwilliams*, sent the Queen's Forces into *Fermannagh*, won *Mac Guire's* Castle of *Enniskillen*, and proclaimed him Traytor. And the *Irish* avow, that the Lord Deputy there let fall threatening Speeches in publick against the Earl of *Tyrone*, calling him Traytor.

These Speeches coming to the Earl's hearing, he ever after pretended, that they were the first Cause that moved him to misdoubt his Safety, and to stand upon his Defence, now first combining himself with *ô Donnel*, and the other Lords of the *North*, to defend their Honours, Estates, and Liberties. When *Tyrone* first began to plot his Rebellion, he's said to have used two notable Practices. First, his Men being altogether rude in the Use of Arms, he offered the State to serve the Queen against *Turlogh Linnogh* with six hundred Men of his own, and so obtained six Captains, to train them (called by our Men Butter Captains, as living upon Cefs) and by this Means (and his own Men in pay, which he daily changed, putting new untrained Men in the room of others) he trained all his Men to the perfect Use of their Arms. Secondly, pretending to build a fair House (which our State thinks a tye of Civility) he got License to transport to *Dungannon* a great Quantity of Lead to cover the Battlements of his House:

House: But ere long employed the same only to make Bullets for the War. But I return to my Purpose.

Sir *Henry Bagnol*, Marshal of *Ireland*, had formerly exhibited to the State divers Articles of Treason practised by the Earl of *Tyrone*, who now would not come to the State without a Protection. To these Articles the Earl answered by Letters, saying, that the Marshal accused him upon Envy, and by suborned Witnesses, and that he together with the Lord Deputy, apparently sought his overthrow. Further complaining, that the Marshal detained from him his Sister's Portion, whom he had married, and that (according to his former Complaint) he usurped Jurisdiction over all *Ulster*, and in particular exercised it over him. Yet these Articles of Treason against the Earl were believed in *England*, till he offered by his Letters to stand to his Trial either in *England* or *Ireland*. And accordingly he answered to the said Articles before the Lord Deputy and Council at *Dundalk*, in such sort as they who had written into *England* against him, now to the contrary wrote, that he had sufficiently answered them. Whereupon the Lords of *England* wrote to the Earl of *Tyrone*, Ann. 1594. in the Month of *August*, of the following Year, that they approved his Answers, and that in their Opinion he had wrong, to be so charged, and that publickly before Judges, and especially, that his Answers were for a Time concealed. Further, they commended him for the token of Loyalty he had given, in dealing with *Mac Gwire* to submit himself, exhorting him to persist in his good Course, and charging him (the rather for avoiding his Enemies Slander) not to meddle with compounding of Controversies in *Ulster* out of *Tyrone*, without the Lord Deputies special Warrant. At the same time their Lordships wrote to the Lord Deputy, taxing him and the Marshal, that

that they had used the Earl against Law and Equity, and that he the Lord Deputy was not indifferent to the Earl, who offered to come over into *England* to justify himself. Thus was the Earl cleared in shew, but whether through Fear of his Enemies, or the guiltiness of his Conscience, he shewed himself ever after to be diffident of his own Safety.

In the Beginning of the Year 1594, *Mac Guire* brake into open Rebellion, he entered with Forces into *Connaught* (where the *Burks* and *Orwarke* in *Leitrim*, commonly called *Orwarkes* Country, for Disobediences to the State, had been prosecuted by Sir *Richard Bingham*, Governor of that Province.) This forerunner of the greater Conspirators (shortly after seconded by *Mac Mabown*) was perswaded to enter *Connaught* by *Gauranus* a Priest, whom the Pope (forsooth) had made Primate of all *Ireland*, and was encouraged thereunto, by his ominating of good Success. But by the Valour of Sir *Richard Bingham* the Governor, *Mac Gwire* was repelled, with the Slaughter of many of his Men, among whom this pretended Primate was killed.

Against this *Mac Gwire*, the Earl of *Tyrone* served with the Queen's Forces, and valiantly fighting, was wounded in the Thigh, yet this Earl providing for his Security, about this Time imprisoned the above-mentioned Sons of *Shane ó Neal*, who had escaped out of *Dublin* Castle, and if they had been there kept, would have been a sure pledge of his Obedience, neither would he restore them to Liberty, though he were required so to do, but still covering his treacherous Heart with Ostentation of a Fear conceived of his Enemies, he ceased not daily to complain of the Lord Deputies and Marshals envy against him, and of wrongs done him by the Garrison Soldiers. Thus the Fire of this dangerous Rebellion is now kindled, by the above-named Causes, to which may be added, the Ha-

Hatred of the Conquered against the Conquerors, the difference of Religion, the love of the *Irish* to *Spain* (whence some of them are descended,) the Extortions of Sheriffs and Sub-sheriffs buying these Places, the ill Government of the Church among ourselves, and the admitting Popish Priests among the *Irish*, and many such like. And this Fire of Rebellion now kindled, shall be found hereafter to be increased to a devouring Flame, by slow and slender Oppositions to the first Eruptions, before they had Liberty to combine and know their own Strength; by not laying Hands timely on suspected Persons of Quality, to prevent their combining with the rest (especially in *Munster*, being as yet quiet :) By entertaining and arming of *Irishmen* (a Point of high Oversight begun by Sir *John Perrot*, and increased by Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, the present Lord Deputy, who at the first sending of Forces into *Farmannagh*, gave Power to certain *Irishmen* to raise Companies, which they did of their own Countrymen, so as this ill Custom being after continued, it both furnished the Enemy with trained Men, and filled our Bands with such false-hearted Soldiers, as some doubted, whether we had not better have them Enemies than Friends :) By a Treaty entertained at the very entrance of the Rebellion, before any Blow was stricken, which made the Traytors proud, and daunted the Hearts of good Subjects; by ensuing Cessations, long continuing and giving Liberty to the Traytors to strengthen their Combination, and to arm themselves in Foreign Parts and at home, whereupon all idle and discontented People had Opportunity to draw into *Tyrone*, and the Traytor Earl of *Tyrone* had means to oppress the bordering Lords of Countries adjoining, whereof many feeling once his Power, some for Fear, some for Love, joined with him. Besides that, the Army in the mean Time was not only an excessive Charge to the Queen, but lay

lay idle, and instead of hurting the Enemy, oppressed the Subject, thereby daily driving many into Rebellion. Lastly (for I will not more curiously search the Causes, being not suitable to so brief a Narration as I intend,) the Rebellion was nourished and increased by nothing more, than frequent Protections and Pardons, granted even to those, who had formerly abused this Mercy, so as all entered and continued to be Rebels, with Assurance to be received to Mercy at their Pleasure, whereof they spared not to brag, and this heartned the Rebel no less, than it discouraged the Subject.

This present Year 1594, about Anno 1594 Sir the Month of *August*, Sir *William* *Russel* *Fitz-Williams*, the Lord Deputy being recalled into *England*, Sir *William Russel* took the Sword. About this time *Ulstermen* in open Hostility distressed her Majesty's Forces, and *Tyrone* (so I will hereafter call him, deserving no Addition of Title,) having long absented himself from the State, was undoubtedly reputed a Party in their Rebellion, when his sudden and voluntary Appearance before this new Lord Deputy at *Dublin*, in the very first Month of his Government, made many hope better of him. He most assuredly promised all humble Obedience to the Queen, as well before the State at *Dublin*, in his own Person, as to the Lords in *England* by his Letters, and making his most humble Submission to her Majesty, besought to be restored to her former Grace, from which he had fallen by the lying Slanders of his Enemies, not by any his just Desert. The Marshal Sir *Henry Bagnol* was then ready to prove before the Lord Deputy Articles of High Treason against *Tyrone*, and to avow that he sent *Mac Gwire* with his Primate into *Connaught*. That he had secret Intelligence with the Traytors *Mac Gwire* and *ô Donnel*, and had communicated Counsels with them, and gave them aid in the
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waſting of *Monnaghan*, and the beſieging of *Enniſkilliſh*, by his Brother *Cormac Mac Baron*, and by *Con* his own baſe Son; and that he by Threats had drawn the Captains of *Kilulto* and *Kilwarny* from their Faith and Allegiance to the Queen. It was in Council debated, whether *Tyrone* ſhould be ſtay'd to answer hereunto; and the Lord Deputy was of opinion he ſhould be ſtay'd: but moſt of the Counſellors, either for idle fear, or inclination of love to *Tyrone*, thought beſt to diſmiſs him for that time, and the Counſel of theſe, as more in number, and beſt experienced in *Iriſh* affairs, the Lord Deputy followed. This much diſpleaſed the Queen, ſince this Fox's treaſonable Practices were now ſo apparent, and herſelf had forewarned, that in caſe he came to the State, he ſhould be ſtay'd till he had clear'd himſelf of all imputed Crimes. And the Lords in *England* by their Letters thence, ſharply reprov'd the Lord Deputy for ſo diſmiſſing him, which might give the Rebels juſt Cauſe to think that they durſt not charge him with Treason for Fear of his Forces, and their Lordſhips profeſſed to doubt that *Tyrone's* Performance would not be ſuch as might warrant this Act.

The Lord Deputy ſhortly after took the Field, and leaving for martial Cauſes the Earl of *Ormond*, for civil Cauſes the Lord Chancellor, to govern *Leinſter* and thoſe Parts in his Abſence, drew the Forces into *Fermanagh*, that he might relieve *Enniſkilliſh*, and expel *Mac Guire* out of his Country. This Winter following, it ſeems there was ſome Negotiation on both Sides about Peace. For in the Month of *February*, the Lords of *England* wrote to the Lord Deputy, of her Maſteſty's Diſlike of certain Writings ſent over from *ſ Donnet* and Sir *Arthur ſ Neal*, namely that in their Petitions, they included the Pardon of *Mac Guire*, and *Orwarke* (commonly call'd *Orurke*), That they indent'd with the Lord Deputy, that he ſhould

come to *Dundalk* within a Month, and especially that the Lord Deputy by Sir *Edward More* should desire a Fortnight more for his coming thither. Their Lordships also signified, that the Queen sent over 2000 old Soldiers which had served under General *Norris* in *Britanny*, (giving order that they should be divided into Hundreds, and so many Captains) besides that 1000 Soldiers were levied in *England* to be sent thither. And because their Lordships judged that all the Practices of the Northern Lords came out of *Tyrone's* School, (howsoever he grossly dissembled the contrary), their Lordships advised the Lord Deputy to offer *ô Donnel* Pardon, so as he would sever himself from *Tyrone*; and that the rather, because he was put into Rebellion by Sir *John Perrot's* imprisoning him without any Cause.

Tyrone hearing that Supplies of Soldiers, and namely the old Soldiers of *Britanny*, were coming for *Ireland*, and that Garrisons of *English* were to be planted at the Castles of *Ballishannon* and *Relike*, lying upon the Lake *Earn*, thought it no longer time to temporise; wherefore about this time of this Year ending, or the first Entrance of Anno 1595. the Year 1595, he drew his Forces together, and in open Hostility suddenly assaulted the Fort of *Black-water*, built upon the Passage into *Tyrone* on the South-side, and taking the same, rased it, and broke down the Bridge. And now the Northern Rebels, with Banners display'd, entred the *Brennie*. Yet at this time *Tyrone* subtilly made suit for Pardon, and promised the Treasurer at War, Sir *Henry Wallop*, that he would continue his Allegiance to the Queen. At this time likewise *Feagh Mac Hugh*, *Walter Reagh*, and and many *Leinstermen*, began to enter into Actions of Hostility against the *English*.

The Lord Deputy, who saw this Storm of Rebellion would lie heavy on his Shoulders, in his Letters to the Lords in *England* had let fall a Request, that some old experienced Commander might be sent over to him for his better assistance, meaning (no doubt) such a Captain as should be commanded by the supreme Authority of the Lord Deputy. But the Lords either mistaking his Intent, or because they so judged it best for her Majesty's service, sent over Sir *John Norris*, a great Leader, and famous in the Wars of the Low Countries and *France*, giving him the Title of Lord General, with absolute Command over military Affairs in the Absence of the Lord Deputy. This great Commander was not like to be willingly commanded by any who had not borne as great or greater Place in the Wars than himself. So as whether through Emulation growing between him and the Lord Deputy, or a declining of his Fortune, incident to the greatest Leaders; howsoever he behaved himself most valiantly and wisely in some Encounters against *Tyrone* and the chief Rebels, yet he did nothing against them of Moment. About the Beginning of *June* the Lord Deputy and the Lord General drew their Forces towards *Armagh*, and now *Tyrone* had sent Letters of Submission to them both (intreating the Lord General more especially for a milder Proceeding against him, so as he might not be forc'd to a headlong Breach of his Loyalty). These Letters should have been delivered at *Dundalk*; but the Marshal *Bagnol* intercepting them, stay'd the Messenger at the *Newry* till the Lord Deputy's Return, at which time, because in this Journey *Tyrone* had been proclaimed Traitor, he refused to receive them, in respect of her Majesty's Honour.

Yet shortly after, at *Tyrone's* instance, Sir *Henry Wallop*, Treasurer at War, and Sir *Robert Gardner*, chief Justice of *Ireland*, were by Commission ap-

pointed to confer with him and his confederate Rebels. *Tyrone* in this Conference complained of the Marshal for his usurped Jurisdiction in *Ulster*, for depriving him of the Queen's Favour by Slanders, for intercepting his late Letters to the Lord Deputy and Lord General, protesting that he never negotiated with foreign Prince till he was proclaimed Traitor. His humble Petitions were, that he and his might be pardoned, and have free Exercise of Religion granted (which notwithstanding had never before either been punished or enquired after); that the Marshal should pay him one thousand Pound for his dead Sisters, his Wife's Portion; that no Garrisons nor Sheriffs should be in his Country; that his Troop of fifty Horse in the Queen's Pay might be restored to him; and that such as had preyed his Country might make restitution.

ô Donnel magnifying his Father's and Progenitors Services to the Crown, complained that Captain *Boyne*, sent by Sir *John Perrot* with his Company into his Country, under pretence to reduce the People to Civility, and being well entertained of his Father, had besides many other Injuries, raised a Bastard to be *ô Donnel*, and that Sir *John Perrot*, by a Ship sent thither, had taken himself by force, and long imprisoned him at *Dublin*; and that Sir *William Fitz Williams* had wrongfully kept *Owen ô Toole*, above-mentioned, seven Years in Prison. His Petitions were for Pardon to him and his, and for Freedom of Religion; that no Garrisons or Sheriffs might be placed in his Country; and that certain Castles and Lands in the County of *Sligo* might be restored to him.

Shane Mac Brian Mac Phelime ô Neal complained of an Island taken from him by the Earl of *Effex*, and that he had been imprisoned till he surrendered to the Marshal a Barony, his antient Inheritance. *Hugh Mac Guire* complained of Insolencies done by Garrison Soldiers and by a Sheriff, who besides
killed

killed one of his nearest Kinsmen. *Brian Mac Hugh Oge*, and *Mac Mahowne* (so the *Irish* call'd the chief of that Name surviving), and *Ever Mac Cooly* of the same Family of *Mac Mahowne's*, complained of the above-mentioned unjust Execution of *Hugh Roe Mac Mahowne*, in the Government of *Sir William Fitz Williams*.

The Commissioners judg'd some of their Petitions equal, others they referred to the Queen's Pleasure: But when on the Queen's Part they propounded to the Rebels some Articles to be performed by them, they were grown so insolent, as judging them unequal, the Conference was broken off, with a few Days Truce granted on both Sides, when the Queen, for sparing of Blood, had resolv'd to give them any reasonable Conditions.

This Truce ended, the Lord Deputy and the Lord General, about the eighteenth of *July*, drew the Forces to *Armagh*, with such Terror to the Rebels, as *Tyrone* left the Fort of *Blackwater*, burnt the Town of *Dungannon*, and pull'd down his House there, burnt all Villages, and betook himself to the Woods. They proclaimed *Tyrone* Traitor in his own Country, and leaving a Guard in the Church of *Armagh*, they for want of Victuals returned to *Dublin*, and by the Way placed a Garrison in *Monaghan*. And when the Army came near to *Dundalk*, the Lord Deputy, according to his Instructions from *England*, yielded the Command of the Army to the Lord General, and leaving him with the Forces in the Northern Borders, returned to *Dublin*. The third of *September*, *Hugh*, Earl of *Tyrone*, *Hugh ô Donnel*, *Brian ô Rourke*, *Hugh Mac Guire*, *Brian Mac Mahowne*, *Sir Arthur ô Neal*, *Art Mac Baron*, *Henry Oge ô Neal*, *Turlogh Mac Henry ô Neal*, *Cormac Mac Baron* (*Tyrone's* Brother), *Con ô Neal*, *Tyrone's* base Son, *Brian Art Mac Brian*, and one *Francis Mounfoord*, were for Form of Law indicted, though absent, and condemned judicially

of Treason in the County of *Lowth*, near the Borders of the North.

From this time the *Leinster* Rebels began to grow very strong: for *Feogh Mac Hugh* of the *Obirns*, and *Donnel Spanniab* of the *Cavans*, when they were declining, and in want of Munition, were not prosecuted, but upon feigned Submission were received into Protection, and so had means to renew their Forces, and supply their Wants, so as this Year, about this Month of *September*, they began to oppress all the Subjects, from the Gates almost of *Dublin*, to the County of *Wexford* (the most ancient *English* County, and ever much cared for by the Queen,) which they spoiled, wanting Forces to defend it, and so deprived the *English* Soldier of great Relief he might have found therein. The like may be said of the *ó Connors* in *Ophalia*.

General *Norris* being left by the Lord Deputy on the northern Borders, with full Command of the Army, the Winter passed without any great Exploit. There was in many things no small Emulation between the Lord Deputy and him, and no less in *Tyrone's* particular. The Lord Deputy seemed to the Lord General, to be unequal and too sharp against *Tyrone*, with whom he wished no Treaty of Peace to be held, (which he wisely did, having experienced his false Subtilty, and knowing that he sought Delays, only till he could have Aid from *Spain*.) But the Lord General (whether it were in Emulation of the Lord Deputy, or in his Favour and Love to *Tyrone*) was willing to reclaim him by a gentle Course (which that crafty Fox could well nourish in him.) And it seems some Part of the Winter passed, while this Project was negotiated between them.

For in the Beginning of the Year
 Anno 1596. 1596, a Commission was procured out
 of *England*, whereby her Majesty, though justly
 offended

offended with *Tyrone* and his Associates, about their Demands, in the former Conference with Sir *Henry Wallop*, and Sir *Robert Gardner*, yet in regard of their Letters of humble Submission, since that Time presented to her, doth signify her gracious Pleasure to Sir *John Norris*, Lord General, and Sir *Geffry Fenton*, her Majesty's Secretary for *Ireland*, giving them Authority to promise Pardon of Life, and restoring of Lands and Goods to the said Lords, seeking with due Humility her Royal Mercy, and to hear them, with Promise of favourable Consideration in all their Complaints. And thus much the Commissioners signified to *Tyrone* and *Donnel*, by Captain *Sant Leger*, and Captain *Warren*, sent of purpose unto them, with Instructions dated the eleventh of *April*, this present Year, 1596, and with Reference of other Particulars, to a Meeting appointed to be at *Dundalk*. The twentieth of the same Month, *Tyrone*, at *Dundalk* before these Commissioners, craved the Queen's Mercy on his Knees, signing with his Hand a most humble Submission in Writing, vowing Faith in the Presence of Almighty God, who seeth into the Secrets of all Mens Hearts, and (to use still his own Words) most humbly craving her Majesty's Mercy and Pardon on the Knees of his Heart. His first Petition for Liberty of Religion, was utterly rejected. For the second, touching Freedom from Garrisons and Sheriffs, he was answered, that her Majesty would not be prescribed how to govern. In the third, interceeding for *Reilly's* Pardon, it was disliked that he should capitulate for others, yet giving hope of his Pardon upon his own Submission. For the fourth, concerning the Jurisdiction of *Armagh*, the Answer was, that her Majesty would reserve all the Bishops Right. For the fifth, concerning the freeing of *Shane* & *Neal's* Sons, it was referred to her Majesty's further Pleasure. Finally, he pro-

mised to desist from aiding the Rebels, and from intermeddling with the Neighbour Lords. To make his Country a Shire. To admit a Sheriff. To renounce the Title of *ó Neal*. To confess (upon his Pardon) all his Intelligences with foreign Princes, and all his past Actions, which may concern the Good of the State. To rebuild the Fort and Bridge of *Blackwater*, and to relieve the Garrison for ready Money at all times. To deliver in sufficient Pledges. To dismiss all his Forces, and to pay such reasonable fine to her Majesty's Use, as should be thought meet by her Majesty. *Hugh ó Donnel* at the same time did agree to divers Articles, for the Good of his Country, and made his like humble Submission. The like did *Hugh Mac Guire*, *Bryan Mac Hugh*, *Ever Oge Roe Mac Cooly*, *Bryan ó Rewark* (called *ó Rorke*), *Shane Mac Bryan*, *Phillip ó Reilly*, and others. To each one was given (under the Commissioners Hands) a Promise of her Majesty's Pardon, upon putting in of Pledges. And Proclamation was made, to give Notice hereof to all the Queen's Subjects, that in the mean time no Acts of Hostility might be done against any of those, who had thus submitted themselves.

Thus the *Ulster* Rebels, by a Submission too honest to be truly intended by them, whilst Pledges were expected, and Pardons drawn, were freed from the Prosecution of the Queen's Forces this Summer. And even at this time did *Tyrone* solicit Aid in *Spain*, and two or three Messengers came secretly to the Rebels from thence, by whom many of them (as *ó Rorke*, *Mac William*, &c.) sent a Writing signed, to the King of *Spain*, covenanting, that if he would send sufficient Forces, they would join theirs to his, and if he would at all relieve them, in the mean time they would refuse all Conditions of Peace. But *Tyrone*, though consenting, yet was too crafty to sign this Covenant,

nant,

nant, yea, craftily he sent the King of *Spain's* Answer to the Lord Deputy, whilst he notwithstanding relied on the promised Succours. I find nothing of Moment done this Summer by the Forces with the General, being restrained by the last Agreement at *Dundalk*; only about the End of *August*, he wrote out of *Connaught* unto the Lord Deputy, complaining of divers Wants, and desiring more Forces to be sent him. To whom the Lord Deputy answered, that his Lordship had Warrant to supply some of his Wants in the Country, and denied the sending of any Forces to him, because himself was to go into the Field.

By this time the Rebels of *Leinster* were (as I formerly mentioned) grown strong, *Feogh Mac Hugh* breaking his Protection, entred into Acts of Hostility, and he together with the *ô Mores*, *ô Connors*, *ô Birnes*, *ô Tooles*, the *Cavenaghs*, *Butlers*, and the chief Names of *Connaught*, animated by the Success of *Ulster* Men, combined together, and demanded to have the barbarous Titles of *ô* and *Mac*, together with Lands they claimed, to be restored to them, in the mean time spoiling all the Country on all Sides.

About the Month of *January*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Governor of *Connaught*, who had valiantly beaten *ô Rorke* out of his Country, and prosecuted the *Bourks*, and other Rebels, was called into *England*, upon Complaints of the *Irish*, and Sir *Conyers Clifford* was sent to govern *Connaught*. This Gentleman complained off by the *Irish*, was valiant and wise; but some of our *English* Statesmen thought him too severe, and that he had thereby driven many into Rebellion, howsoever himself very well experienced in the Country, and those who best understood the *Irish* Nature, found nothing so necessary for keeping them in Obedience, as Severity, nor so dangerous for the Increase of Murders and Outrages, as Indulgence towards them.

them. His Answers to their Complaints could not be so admitted, as for the time some Discourtenance fell not on him, which Reward of Services he constantly bore, till in short time after, to his great Grace, the State thought fit again to use his Service, in a Place of great Command in the Army.

Sir *John Norris* Lord General, Sir *George Boucher*, Master of her Majesty's Ordnance, and Sir *Geffery Fenton* her Majesty's Secretary for *Ireland*, being by Commission directed to treat again with *Tyrone*, did by their Letters dated the twentieth of *January*, remember him of the favour he had received at the last Treaty at *Dundalk*, and charged him (as formerly he had been charged) with high Crimes since that committed by him, to the violation of the Articles then agreed on, therefore advising him, that since they were for her Majesty's Service to draw to the Borders, he would there testify to them his Penitence for Offences done since his Pardon, by such an humble and hearty Submission, as they might recommend into *England* from him. *Tyrone* by his Answer of the two and twentieth of *January*, acknowledged under his Hand her Majesty's Mercy therein extended to him, and confessed Offences and Breaches of the Articles there Signed, withal desiring them, to examine the Wrongs and Provocations, by which he had been driven thereunto, and protesting his Sorrow for these Offences. The same Day he met the Commissioners near *Dundalk*, where he being on the one side of the Brook, they on the other, he put off his Hat, and holding it with great Reverence in his Hand, said to them. That he was come thither, not only to shew his Duty to them, as her Majesty's Commissioners, but his inward desire to be made and continued a Subject. When he would have remembred the Wrongs since his late Pardon provoking him to Disloyalty, they cut him off by remembering

membring him of all the Benefits, and that of his last Pardon, received from the Queen, which should have counterpoised his Wrongs, and have kept him in Duty. He confessed this, with shew of great Remorse, and protested before God and Heaven, that there was no Prince nor Creature, whom he honoured as he did her Majesty ; nor any Nation of People that he loved or trusted more, than the *English*. Protesting further, that if her Majesty would please to accept of him again as a Subject, and to take such course as he might be so continued, (thus still he reserved Pretence of Wrongs to shadow his future Disloyalties,) then he doubted not but to redeem all his Faults past with some notable Services. Besides, he gave Answers to divers Questions, and signed them after with his Hand. First, asked what Messages and Letters had passed between *Spain* and him; he answered, never to have received any, but Incouragements from *Spain*, and Assurances of an Army to aid him: that he never had further contract with the *Spaniards*, and that he had sent the King of *Spain's* Letter above-mentioned to the Lord Deputy and Council: That he never received thence any Money or ought of Value, nor any of his Confederates to his Knowledge. Only *ô Donnel* had some fifteen Barrels of Powder, whereof he should have had a Portion, but never had it. Secondly, for the late Submitties, Pardons, and Pledges, he undertook that with all speed the Pledges should be sent to *Dublin*, with Agents to sue out the Pardons, granted in the last Treaty at *Dundalk*. Thirdly, for his making *ô Reilly*, he vowed that the Gentlemen of the Country made him, and that he would hereafter never meddle in the Causes of the *Brenny*. Fourthly, for the Rebels of *Leinster* and the *Butlers*, he answered, that he never had Confederacy with any but *Feoghmas Hugh*, and for the *Butlers*, he never

ver had any Thing to do with them. Fifthly, for Agents in *Spain*, he denied to have any, or to know any his Confederates had. Sixthly, for his jealousy of the State, he avowed it to be upon just Causes, which he would aftermake known. This done, he desired Captain *Warren* might come over the Brook to him, and then by him he requested that himself might come over to the Commissioners, in token of his faithful Heart to her Majesty, which granted, he with great reverence saluted them, and with Hat in Hand, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, desired God to take Vengeance on him, if (her Majesty vouchsafing to make him a Subject, and to cause the Articles of *Dundalk* to be kept to him) he would not continue faithful, and desired never to see Christ in the Face, if he meant not as he spoke. He confessed, that the *Spanish* Ships lately arrived in the *North*, had brought *ó Donnel* the King's Letter, signifying that he heard the Earl of *Tyrone* to be dead, and the *Irish* to have received a great overthrow, desiring to be advertised of their State. And that *ó Donnel* before his coming had given answer, that if the King sent an Army, he would take his Part, and hoped the like of the other *Irish*. But at his coming, that the *Spanish* Captain excusing that the King had not written to him, he only told him, that Promise had not been kept with him by the *English*, and therefore he would not refuse the King's promised Aid. And with many Execrations swore, that the Captain left neither Munition nor Treasure with him, and that he never received any Thing from the King of *Spain*, but that Letter above-mentioned, which he sent to the Lord Deputy. And that he never wrote but three Letters into *Spain*, all about one Time, and (as he thought) all intercepted. Lastly, he vehemently denied to have incited any *Munster* Men to Rebellion, since his last Pardon. So with like Reverence as formerly, he took his leave.

Upon

Upon Advertifement hereof into *England*, the Commissioners received ample Power to conclude all Things with *Tyrone*. Thus much they made known to him by Letters, ſent to him by his old friend Captain *Warren*, the ninth of *March*, with Inſtructions to appoint the ſecond of *April* the Day of meeting at *Dundalk*, which *Tyrone* accepted, with ſhew of joy to be received to her Maſteſty's Mercy, the Sweetneſs whereof he had often experienced, and of fear to be purſued by her Forces, which he profeſſed himſelf not able to reſiſt. But by his Letters the fifteenth of *March*, he made doubt of meeting, pretending that his Pledges were not changed according to Covenant, nor Reſtitution made him by thoſe that had preyed his Country, and that his Confederates could not come ſo ſoon. The Commissioners replied by Letters the two and twentieth of *March*, that theſe were but Delays, ſince the Pledges at the Meeting (upon his putting in his eldeſt Son for Pledge) ſhould be reſtored, and he in all Things reaſonably ſatiſfied, proteſting that if he reſuſed this occaſion, they could do no more for him, ſince her Maſteſty would be no longer abuſed by his fair Promiſes and Delays: Adding, that he muſt conform himſelf to the Directions they had, and could not alter. Maſter Secretary wrote out of *England* unto the Commissioners the two and twentieth of *March*; That her Maſteſty was diſpleaſed to have the Treaty thus delayed, and charged to have the Meeting in a Town, as a Submiſſion of the Rebels, not in the Field as a Parley. That her Maſteſty prepared for the War, reſolving not to have any more Treaties, if this took not Effect. Laſtly, deſiring them to acquaint the Lord-Deputy with all their Directions, and the Iſſues, and to excuſe his not writing to his Lordſhip, thinking that the Commissioners were not at *Dublin* with him.

Upon

Upon the tenth of *April*, in the Year Anno 1597. 1597, the Commissioners again pressed *Tyrone* by Letters, not to slack his own greatest Good by Delays, and appointed for the last Day of Meeting, the sixteenth of that present Month, and that his Confederates not able then to come, should draw after as soon as they could, protesting that this was the last Time that they would write unto him. *Tyrone* on the seventeenth of *April*, sent his Reasons of not coming : First justifying his Relapse into Disloyalty by the Truce not observed to him, and because Restitution was not made him of Preys taken from him, which was promised. Then excusing his not meeting, because his Pledges, by the truce being from three Months to three Months to be changed, were still detained, yea, his Pledges the second time put in, were kept together with the first ; And saying, that he durst not come to the Lord General, because many Promises by him made, being not kept, he knew it was much against his honourable Mind, and so could not be perswaded, but that the Lord-General was over-ruled by the Lord-Deputy, so as he could not make good his Promises without the Lord-Deputy's consent, who shewed malice to him, and was no doubt the Cause of all the Breaches of such Promises, as had been made unto him. Again, in regard he heard that the Lord *Bourgh* was to come over Lord-Deputy, who was altogether unknown to him, he protested to fear that the Acts of the Lord-General with him, would not be made good, wishing that rather the Lord-General might be continued in his Command, for then he would be confident of a good Conclusion. Finally, he desired a Meeting near *Dundalk* the six and twentieth of *April*, but this Appointment for the Day being against the last final Resolution, and for the Place against her Majesty's Directions, there was no more Speech of this Treaty.

In

In the mean Time Sir *William Russel* Lord-Deputy, by the managing of those and like Affairs, finding himself not duly countenanced out of *England*, in the Place he sustained, had made earnest Suit to be called home, and accordingly about the end of *May* he was revoked, and the Lord *Bourgh*, (so he himself writes, others write *Burke*, and *Camden* writes *Borough*) came over L. Bourgh. Lord-Deputy. The ill Success of the L. Deputy. Treaties and small Progress of the Wars, together with this unexpected change of the Lord-Deputy, coming with supreme Authority, as well in Martial as Civil Causes, broke the Heart of Sir *John Norris* Lord-General, a Leader as worthy and famous as *England* bred in our Age. Of late (according to vulgar Speech) he had displeased the Earl of *Essex*, then a great Favourite in Court, and by his Merits possessed of the Superintendency in all martial Affairs: For Sir *John Norris* had embraced the Action of *Brest Fort* in *Britany*, and the Wars in those Parts, when the Earl himself had purpose to entertain them, and prevailed against the Earl, by undertaking them with less Forces, than the Earl desired for the same. And it was thought that the Earl had preferred the Lord *Bourgh*, of purpose to discontent him, in regard the said Lord *Bourgh* had had a private Quarrel with the said General in *England*, and that besides the superior Command of this Lord, (though otherwise most worthy, yet of less Experience in the Wars than the General had,) could not but be unsupportable to him, esteemed one of the greatest Captains of his Time, and yet having inferior Command of the Presidentship of *Munster* in the same Kingdom. Certainly upon the Arrival of this new Lord-Deputy, presently General *Norris* was commanded to his Government of *Munster*, and not to stir thence without Leave. When he came thither,

thither, this Grief so wrought upon his high Spirit, as it apparently broke his brave and formerly undaunted Heart, for without Sickneſs or any publick Sign of Grief, he ſuddenly died, in the Embrace of his dear Brother, Sir *Thomas Norris*, his Vice-president, within ſome two Months of his coming into *Munſter*.

The Lord *Bourgh* at his entry into the Place of Lord Deputy, found all the North in Rebellion, except ſeven Caſtles, with their Towns or Villages, all but one lying towards the Sea, namely, *Newry*, *Knockfergus*, *Carlingford*, *Green-Caſtle*, *Armagh*, *Dondrum*, and *Olderfleet*. And all *Connaught* was likewise in Rebellion, together with the Earl of *Ormond's* Nephews the *Butlers*, in *Munſter*.

In this Month of *May*, *ō Rorke* was ſent into *England*, by the King of *Scots*, and there executed. This *ō Rorke* ſeems to have been expelled his Country, when Sir *Richard Bingham* was Governor of *Connaught*, but thoſe of his Name, and the chief of them, uſurping the County of *Leitrim*, ſtill continued Rebels.

Tyrone hitherto with all Subtilty and a thouſand Sights abuſing the State, when he ſaw any Danger hanging over him, by feigned Countenance and falſe Words pretended humbleſt Submiſſion, and hearty Sorrow for his Villanies; but as ſoon as Opportunity of purſuing him was omitted, or the Forces were of Neceſſity to be drawn from his Country, with the Terror of them all his Loyalty vaniſhed, yea, he failed not to mingle ſecretly the greateſt Counſels of Miſchief with his humbleſt Submiſſions. And theſe Courſes had been nourished by the Sloth of our Leaders, the Frugality of ſome of our Counſellors, and the Queen's inbred Lenity: yet of all other, he had moſt abuſed the late Lord General's Love to him, and his Credulity, which ſpecially grew out of his Love. Now of this new Lord Deputy, by
Letters

Letters he requested a Truce or Cessation, which it seemed good to the Lord Deputy to grant for a Month, in regard of the Conveniency of her Majesty's present Affairs, not any way to gratify the Rebel, for he had no Purpose to entertain more Speech of his Submission, or to slack the Pursuit of him and his Confederates, to which he was wholly bent. He saw the lamentable Effects, which these Cessations, together with Protections, had hitherto produced, and among other Evils, did specially resolve to avoid them.

Therefore as soon as the Month of Truce was expired, the Lord Deputy as well by his first Actions, to give Lustre and ominous Presage to his Government, as because he judged it best for the Service to strike at the Head, presently drew the Forces towards *Tyrone*. The *Irish*, in a Fastness near *Armagh*, (so they call straight Passages in Woods, where to the natural Strength of the Place is added the Art of interlacing the low Bows, and casting the Bodies of Trees across the Way) opposed the Passage of the *English*, who made their Way with their Swords, and found that the *Irish* resolutely assaulted, would easily give ground. Then the Lord Deputy assaulted the Fort of *Blackwater*, formerly built by the *English* upon the Passage to *Dungannon*, whence the Earl at his first entering into Rebellion, had by Force expelled the *English*, as carefully as he would have driven Poison from his Heart. This Fort he soon won, and repairing the same, put a Company of *English* Soldiers into it, to guard it. But whilst the Lord Deputy with the whole Army were rendering Thanks to God for this good Success, the Rebels shewed themselves out of the thick Woods near adjoining on the North-side of the Fort, so as the Prayers were interrupted by calling to Arms. The *English* entered Skirmish, and prevailed against them, driving them to fly

into the thickest of their Dens. In this Conflict were killed *Francis Vaughan*, Brother to the Lord Deputy's Wife, and *Robert Turner*, Serjeant Major of the Army, and two foster Brethren to *Henry*, Earl of *Kildare*, who with his Troop of Horse valiantly served upon the Rebel, and took the Death of his foster Brethren so to heart, (after the Education of the *Irish*) as he shortly after died. Many also were wounded, among whom *Thomas Walker* was of chief Name.

When the Lord Deputy first resolved to draw up to *Blackwater*, he sent Directions to Sir *Conyers Clifford* to come up with the *Connaught* Forces by the Way of *Ballyshannon*, and to meet him there, which he in like sort attempted, but being overmatched by the Rebels lying in his Way, could not pierce so far, but was forced to retire, and by that Retreat won great Reputation to himself and the Men under him: for having with him some six or seven hundred Foot only; of which Part was of the old *Britan* Soldiers, and being assailed by more than 2000 Rebels, during thirty Miles March he valiantly repelled them, and safely retired to the Garrison.

The Lord Deputy leaving the Fort at the *Blackwater* well guarded to the Charge of Captain *Thomas Williams*, withdrew the Forces towards the Pale. Now the Rebels tossed between Hope, Fear, and Shame, resolved to besiege the Fort, and *Tyrone* thought his Reputation lost, if he recovered it not, and so with joint Force they compassed and assailed the same. Whereof the Lord Deputy being advertised, with all possible Expedition gathered the Forces, to lead them to the Relief of that Fort, and the Rebels hearing of his Lordship's Approach, quitted the Siege of the Fort, and retired into their Strengths. Whereupon the Lord Deputy marched forward, and having passed the *Blackwater* Fort, and purposing to

to enter and pass the Place leading to *Dungannon*, *Tyrone's* chief House, he fell suddenly sick, and being carried back in his Horse-litter to *Armagh*; and thence to the *Newry*, died in the Way, to the great joy of the Rebels, dejected with his sharp Prosecution and bold Adventures, and to the no less Grief of the *English*, erected with hope of good Success. Howsoever many of good Judgment held his Purpose of passing to *Dungannon* very dangerous, and altogether fruitless; since no Garrisons being planted to gain Ground, no other Issue could be hoped in the best Event, than a brag of Courage in passing to *Tyrone's* chief Seat, which no other Deputy had yet attempted. And as they greatly commended the Lord Deputy's Valour in these Actions, so they feared the Engaging and Loss of the Queen's Army, by this or some like bold Attempt.

After his death, Sir *Thomas Norris*, Lord Justice Lord President of *Munster*, was under the great Seal of *Ireland* provisionally made Lord Justice of the Kingdom, (as the Custom is in such sudden Changes) who repaired to *Dublin*, and there executed his Place for one Month (as I think of *September*) and no longer, for he being sick, and cast down in Mind by the great Sorrow he had conceived for the late Death of his worthy Brother, made great Suit to the Queen and the Lords in *England*, to be eased of this Burden of being Lord Justice, and to have leave to retire himself to his Government of the Province of *Munster*.

And so *Adam Loftus*, Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, and *Robert Gardner*, chief Justice of *Ireland*, by Letters out of *England*, the thirteenth of *October* were made Lords Justices for the civil Government, and the Earl of *Ormond* with Title of Lord Lieutenant of the Army, was authorized to command in chief

Lord Lieutenant, and Lords Justices.

for all martial Affairs. *Tyrone* after his old Custom, flies unto the Lord Lieutenant, with Protestations of Loyalty, and complains of Wrongs, inforcing his disloyal Courses, which his Lordship advertising into *England*, received Authority from thence, to treat with *Tyrone* about his Submission, having Sir *Geffery Fenton*, Secretary of *Ireland*, joined with him for an Assistant. Hereupon ensued a meeting at *Dundalk*, on the 22d of *December*, where *Tyrone* made his most humble Submission in Writing, acknowledging her Majesty's great Mercy in giving him and his Associates their Pardons upon former Submissions, and upon the knees of his Heart (as he writes) professed most hearty Penitence for his Disloyalty, and especially his foul Relapses therinto, humbly beseeching the Lord Lieutenant to be a Means to her sacred Majesty for his Pardon, withal making known his Grievances, which howsoever they could not justify his Offence, yet might in some Measure qualify the Heinousness thereof. And till these might be booked, to be sent over with his Submission, most humbly craving of his Lordship to grant a Truce or Cessation of Arms for eight Weeks following. And further, to the End it might appear that his Submission proceeded from his Heart, promising that for the Time of this Cessation, there should be no Impediment given to her Majesty's Ministers bringing Victuals to *Blackwater* Fort, yea, that for a poor Token of his humblest Duty, he would voluntarily give to the Hands of the Captain forty Beeves, and suffer the Soldiers to cut and fetch in Wood, or any other Provisions. For his Performance whereof he offered presently to give Pledges to his Lordship.

The same Day he subscribed the following Articles, propounded to him by the Lord Lieutenant. First, he promiseth for him and his Associates, faith-

faithfully to keep her Majesty's Peace during the Cessation. Secondly, that he will presently recal all *Ulster* Men sent by him into *Leinster*, leaving those who should not obey his Directions to the Lord Lieutenant's Discretion. Thirdly, if any during the Truce shall break into Rebellion, he promiseth not to aid them, so as none depending on his Truce, be in the mean time taken in by the State without his Consent. Fourthly, he agreeth to a general Liberty, of buying Necessaries for his Men in the Pale, and for the Queen's Subjects in *Ulster*, and nothing to be forceably taken on either Side. Fifthly, that upon pretended Wrongs no Revenge be taken, but Restitution be made within ten Days after Complaint. Sixthly, that during the Truce he shall have no Intelligence with the King of *Spain*, or other foreign Prince, but acquaint the State with any Message he shall receive, or Project he shall hear. Seventhly, that he shall presently draw a Book of his Grievances, such as he can prove, without Mention of frivolous Matters unworthy her sacred Majesty's View. Eighthly, that he will deliver into the Fort forty Beeves, and give safe Conduct to her Majesty's Ministers to victual the said Fort of *Blackwater*, and suffer the Soldiers to cut and fetch Wood on the South-side of *Armagh*, and for all other Necessaries permit them to agree with the Owners, so as they come not of themselves into his Country, but have his Men with them in Company. Ninthly, that any Prey being tracked into his Country, he shall make Restitution, and deliver the Thieves to be executed, and if any be stopped from following his Track the Stopper shall answer the Goods so tracked; which Course the Lord Lieutenant promised likewise to hold towards him and his Associates.

The Twentyfourth of *December*, *Tyrone* advertised the Lord Lieutenant, that he served the Fort

with forty Beeves, but the Captain had refused ten of them, wherein his Discretion was taxed by the Lord Lieutenant, since they were of voluntary Gift. Yet *Tyrone* promised to send ten other of the best he had in lieu of them.

The eighteenth of *February*, *Brian Oge Orwarke* (commonly called *ó Rorke*) Lord of *Leitrim* (commonly called *ó Rorke's Country*) submitted himself in a great Assembly on his Knees to her Majesty, before Sir *Conyers Clifford* Governor of *Connaught*, subscribing further to these Articles: First, That he and his Followers promised in all humbleness to perform all Duties to her Majesty as becometh good Subjects. Secondly, that he will receive her Majesty's Sheriffs, and yield them all due Obedience. Thirdly, That he will pay to her Majesty her Composition or Rent, and yield to her Highness all Services, according to his new Patent to be granted. Fourthly, That he shall send out of his Country all Strangers to their own dwelling Places. Fifthly, That he will apprehend all Rebels, Thieves or Malefactors coming into his Country, sending them and their Goods to the Governor. Sixthly, That he will deliver Pledges for his Sept (or Family) and the chief Septs with him, within twenty Days. Hereof Sir *Conyers Clifford* advertised the Lords Justices, praying that in regard of the Strength and Fastness of *ó Rorke's Country*, he might not be discontented with having Beeves taken from him for Relief of the Army without Payment of ready Money for them, since that Course had already grieved all the Submitties. Further, he shewed that the Country of *ó Rorke* was most necessary to be defended; for howsoever it was held by Sir *Richard Bingham* the last Governor as by Conquest (upon expelling of the above-mentioned *ó Rorke*), yet then it was all waste, so as the Rebel could make little Use of it, whereas now it was most replenished with Cattle, and therefore like to be
be

be assaulted by *Tyrone* and *ô Donnel*, incensed against *ô Rorke* by Reason of this his Submission: Besides that, the Queen's Forces could lie no where so fitly for Service as upon the *Earn*, nor there be relieved but by *ô Rorke*, nor receive Relief with his Contentment but by paying ready Money. Lastly, he shewed that all the People upon the *Earn*, and in those Parts, excepting *Mac William*, had submitted themselves to her Majesty, and delivered Pledges for their Loyalty, being glad to live under her Majesty's Laws, and only terrify'd with the Burden of relieving the Soldiers without Payment for their Cattle; therefore he desired that two of the Privy-Council might be sent over to take Knowledge of such Grievances as the Submitties should present unto them, and to take Order for their Satisfaction. These goodly Submissions had all the same Issue as followeth in that of the famous Faith-breaker *Tyrone*.

Since the last meeting of the Lord Lieutenant with *Tyrone* at *Dundalk*, his Lordship had sent over into *England* *Tyrone's* humble Submission and the Book of his Grievances, and had received Authority from her Majesty to make a final Conclusion with the Rebels, and now at another meeting in *Dundalk*, on the fifteenth of *March*, the Lord Lieutenant signify'd to *Tyrone*, that her Majesty by his humble Submission had been induced again to receive him to Mercy, and to give him and all the Inhabitants of *Tyrone* her gracious Pardon, upon Conditions following: 1. That he renew his humble Submission to the Lord Lieutenant on her Majesty's Behalf in some publick Place. 2. That he promise due Obedience of a Subject, and not to intermeddle with the *Irish*, nor his Adherents, not only hereafter, but now, leaving them to themselves, that they may become humble Suitors for their own Pardons, in which Case it is promised

them also. 3. That he disperse his Forces, upon Receipt of his Pardon, and dismiss all Strangers, *Irish, Scots*, or others. 4. That he renounce the Name and Title of *ô Neal*. 5. Not to intermeddle with her Majesty's Vriaghts, (so the *Irish* call the bordering Lords, whom the *Ulster* Tyrants have long claimed to be their Vassals). 6. That he build up again at his own Charges the Fort and Bridge of *Blackwater*, and furnish the Soldiers with Victuals as formerly he did. 7. That he deliver to the Lord Lieutenant the Sons of *Shane ô Neal* who were her Majesty's Prisoners, till breaking out they fell into his Hands, and were imprisoned by him. 8. To declare faithfully all Intelligence with *Spain*, and to leave it. 9. That he receive a Sheriff for *Tyrone*, as all other Counties do. 10. That he put in his eldest Son for Pledge, and at all Times come to the State being called. 11. That he pay a Fine in Part of Satisfaction for his Offence, according to her Majesty's Pleasure. 12. That he aid no Rebel, nor meddle with the Inhabitants on the East-side of the *Bann*, yet so as he may enjoy any Lands or Leases he hath there. 13. That he receive not any disloyal Person, but send such to the chief Governor.

To the first and second Articles *Tyrone* agreeth, so as time might be given for the other Lords his Associates to assemble, that they might herein lay no Imputation on him. To the third he agreeth, craving a general Passport for all such Strangers. To the fourth he agreeth. For the fifth, he saith that he desireth nothing of the Vriaghts but such Duties as they yielded since his Grandfather's time. To the sixth he agreeth. The seventh he refuseth, because he had not those Prisoners from the State. To the eighth he agreeth. To the ninth he agreeth, according to the Statute appointing a Gentleman of the Country to be chosen, yet craving Forbearance

ance for a small time. The tenth he refuses, for the Pledges (in particular). For the eleventh he agreeth to a Fine of five hundred Cows; yet praying the Lord Lieutenant to be a Means to her Majesty for the Remittal thereof. To the twelfth he agreeth. To the last he agreeth, provided that he would deliver no Man to the State who came to him for Cause of Conscience. Finally, in regard *ô Donnel* and other of *Tyrone's* Associates did not then appear, and in that respect the Lord Lieutenant had been pleased to grant him further Day till the tenth of *April* following, he promised upon his Credit and Honour, and by his Hand-writing, that in case they or any of them should not then appear and submit themselves, yet he at that time would make his submission, and humbly crave and receive her Majesty's gracious Pardon, and go thorough with all things requisite for a perfect Conclusion, and to deliver in two Pledges of his Faith, to be chosen out of a schedule presented to the Lord Lieutenant, the same to be changed according to the Agreement, and if the *Mores* and *Connors*, for whom he had obtained Protection, should violate this Peace, that he would no Way give Aid or Assistance to them. Hereupon at the Instance of the Lord Lieutenant, the Lords Justices caused *Tyrone's* Pardon to be drawn, and sealed with the great Seal of *Ireland* bearing Date the eleventh of *April*, in the fortieth Year of her Majesty's Reign, and of our Lord the Year 1598. Anno 1598.

Tyrone received his general Pardon, but continuing still his disloyal Courses, never pleaded the same, so as upon his above-mentioned Indictment, in *September* 1595, you shall find him after outlawed, in the Year 1600.

The *Irish* Kerne were at the first rude Soldiers, so as two or three of them were employed to discharge one Piece, and hitherto they have subsisted especially by treacherous Tenders of Submission, but

but now they were grown ready in managing their Pieces, and bold to skirmish in Bogs and woody Passages; yea, this Year and the next following became so disastrous to the *English*, and successful in Action to the *Irish*, as they shaked the *English* Government in this Kingdom, till it tottered, and wanted little of fatal Ruin. *Tyrone* wanted not Pretences to frustrate this late Treaty, and to return to his former Disloyalty, and the Defection of all other Submitties depending on him followed his Revolt.

First he sent Aid to *Phelim Mac Feogh*, chief of the *ôBirns*, the Son of *Feogh Mac Hugh*, (killed in *Sir William Russel's* time), to the End he might make the War in *Leinster* against the *English*: And because the *English* Fort of *Blackwater* was a great Eye-sore to him, lying on the chief Passage into his Country, he assembled all his Forces and assaulted the same; but Captain *Thomas Williams*, with his Company under him so valiantly repelled the great Multitudes of the Assailants, with slaughter of many and the most hardy, attempting to scale the Fort, (which was only a deep trench or Wall of earth, to lodge some one hundred Soldiers), as they utterly discouraged from assailing it, resolved to besiege it afar off, and knowing they wanted Victuals, presumed to get it by Famine.

This Captain and his few Warders, did with no less Courage suffer hunger, and having eaten the few Horses they had, lived upon Herbs growing in the Ditches and Walls, suffering all Extremities, till the Lord Lieutenant in the Month of *August* sent *Sir Henry Bagnol*, Marshal of *Ireland*, with the most choice Companies of Foot and Horse Troops of the *English* Army, to victual this Fort, and to raise the Rebels Siege. When the *English* entered the Pace and thick Woods beyond *Armagh*, on the East-side, *Tyrone* (with all the Rebels Forces assembled to him) pricked forward with Rage
of

of Envy and settled Rancour against the Marshal, assailed the *English*, and turning his full Force against the Marshal's Person, had the Success to kill him, valiantly fighting among the thickest of the Rebels: Whereupon the *English* being dismay'd with his Death, the Rebels obtained a great Victory against them; I term it great, since the *English* from their first Arrival in that Kingdom never had received so great an Overthrow as this commonly called, *The Defeat of Blackwater*; thirteen valiant Captains and fifteen hundred common Soldiers, (whereof many were of the old Companies which had serv'd in *Britanny* under General *Norris*) were slain in the Field. The yielding of the Fort of *Blackwater* followed this Disaster, when the assaulted Guard saw no Hope of Relief; but especially upon Messages sent to Captain *Williams* from our broken Forces retired to *Armagh*, professing that all their Safety depended upon his yielding the Fort into the Hands of *Tyrone*, without which Danger Captain *Williams* professed that no Want or Misery should have induced him thereunto.

The Defeat
of *Black-*
water.

Shortly after Sir *Richard Bingham* (above-mentioned) late Governor of *Connaught*, and unworthily disgraced, was sent over to succeed Sir *Henry Bagnol* in the Marshalship of that Kingdom.

By this Victory, the Rebels got plenty of Arms and Victuals, *Tyrone* was among the *Irish* celebrated as the Deliverer of his Country from Thralldom, and the combined Traitors on all sides were puffed up with intolerable Pride. All *Ulster* was in Arms, all *Connaught* revolted, and the Rebels of *Leinster* swarmed in the *English* Pale, while the *English* lay in their Garrisons, so far from assailing the Rebels, as they rather lived in continual fear to be surprised by them.

After

After the last Year's Naval Expedition out of *England* into the Islands, certain old Companies of one thousand and fifty Foot, drawn out of the Low Countries, were appointed to Winter in the *West Parts of England*, To these, nine hundred and fifty new Men were added this Summer, and the Command of these two thousand Foot, and of one hundred Horse, was given to Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, who was appointed to go with them to *Loughfoyle*, in the *North of Ireland*: but after the defeat of *Blackwater*, they were countermanded to go into *Leinster*, to strengthen the Queen's Forces in the Heart of the Kingdom.

The Old Companies.

Sir <i>Samuel Bagnol</i> , Colonel	- -	1500	} 1050 Foot.
Captain <i>John Jephson</i>	- - -	100	
Captain <i>Josias Bodley</i>	- - -	100	
Captain <i>John Sidney</i>	- - -	100	
Captain <i>Foulke Conway</i>	- - -	100	
Captain <i>Nicholas Pynner</i>	- -	100	
Captain <i>Edward Blaney</i>	- - -	100	
Captain <i>Tobey Caulfield</i>	- - -	100	
Captain <i>Austin Heath</i>	- - -	100	
Captain <i>Owen Tewder</i>	- - -	100	

To these were added new Men, partly under old Captains, as Captain *Francis Roe*, Captain *Charles Egerton*, Captain *Ralph Bingley*, and partly under new Captains - - - - - } 950. Foot.

Besides, Sir *Samuel Bagnol* the Colonel had the Command of a Troop of Horse new raised - - - - - } 100 Horse.

After the defeat of *Blackwater*, *Tyrone* sent *Ony mac Rory ó More*, and one Captain *Tyrel* (of *English* Race, but a bold and unnatural Enemy to his Country,

Country, and the *English*, to trouble the Province of *Munster*. Against whom Sir *Thomas Norris*, Lord-President opposed himself: But as soon as he upon necessary Occasions had with-drawn his Forces to *Cork*, many of the *Munster* Men now first about *October*, 1598, Anno 1598. broke into Rebellion, and joined themselves with *Tyrone's* said Forces, spoiled the Country, burnt the Villages, and pull'd down the Houses and Castles of the *English*, against whom (especially the Female Sex) they committed all abominable Outrages. And now they raised *James Fitzthomas a Geraldine* to be Earl of *Desmond*, (which Title had since the Wars of *Desmond* being suppressed,) with Condition, that (forsooth) he should be Vassal to *ó Neal*. The *Munster* Rebellion broke out like a lightning, for in one Month's Space, almost all the *Irish* were in rebellious Arms, and the *English* were murdered, or stripped and banished. Thus having inflamed *Munster* with the Fire of Rebellion, and leaving this Sedition to be cherished and increased by this new Earl of *Desmond*, and other Rebels of that Province, the *Ulster* Forces returned back to *Tyrone*: The Infection which *Munster* Men have drawn from the corrupted Parts in Rebellion, did more and more spread itself, so as the old Practices long held by the Arch-Traitor *Tyrone* to induce them to a revolt, now fully attained their wished Effect. To the working whereof in the Hearts of the Seditious, there wanted not many strong Motives, as the hatred which the *Geraldines* bear to those *English* Undertakers (of whom I formerly spoke, in *Desmond's* War,) which possessed their Ancestors Lands; also the Encouragement they received by the good Success of the Rebels, and no less the hope of Pardon upon the worst Event. And to speak Truth, *Munster* Undertakers above-mentioned, were in great Part Cause of this Defection, and of their own fatal Miseries.

Miseries. For whereas they should have built Castles, and brought over Colonies of *English*, and have admitted no *Irish* Tenant, but only *English*, these and like Covenants were in no Part performed by them. Of whom the Men of best Quality never came over, but made Profit of the Land; others brought no more *English* than their own Families, and all entertained *Irish* Servants and Tenants, which were now the first to betray them. If the Covenants had been kept by them, they of themselves might have made two thousand able Men, whereas the Lord-President could not find above two hundred of *English* birth among them, when the Rebels first entered the Province. Neither did these gentle Undertakers make any Resistance to the Rebels, but left their Dwellings, and fled to walled Towns; yea, when there was such danger in Flight, as greater could not have been in defending their own, whereof many of them had woful Experience, being surprised with their Wives and Children in Flight. Among the *Munster* Rebels were the Viscount *Mountgarret*, the Earl of *Ormond's* near Kinsman, and the Baron of *Cahir*, a *Butler*, and of the Earl's Kindred. Both these pretended their Discontent and Malice against the said Earl, for Cause of their Revolt. But more dangerous Causes were suspected, and except a Royal Force were quickly opposed to the Rebels bold Attempts, a general Revolt was feared.

May you hold laughter, or will you think that *Carthage* ever bred such a dissembling fædisfragous Wretch as *Tyrone*, when you shall read, that even in the midst of all these garboyles, and whilst in his Letters to the King of *Spain*, he magnified his Victories, beseeching him not to believe that he would seek or take any Conditions of Peace, and vowing constantly to keep his Faith plighted to that King, yet most impudently he ceased not to entertain the Lord Lieutenant, by Letters and Messages,

sages, with offers of Submission. This he did, but not so submissively as before, for now the Gentleman was grown higher in the Instep, as appeared by the Insolent Conditions he required.

Ireland being in this turbulent State, many thought it could not be restored but by the powerful Hand of *Robert Earl of Essex*. This noble Lord had from his Youth put himself into military Actions of greatest Moment, so far as the Place he held in Court would permit, and had of late Years won much honour in some Services by Sea and Land, so as he had full Possession of a Superintendency over all martial Affairs, and for his noble worth was generally loved, and followed by the Nobility and Gentry. In which Respects the Queen knew him fit for this Service. He had long been a dear Favourite to the Queen, but had of late lain so open to his Enemies, as he had given them Power to make his imbracing of Military Courses, and his popular estimation so much suspected of his Sovereign, as his greatness was now judged to depend as much on her Majesty's Fear of him, as her Love to him. And in this Respect he might seem to the Queen most unfit for this Service. But surely the Earl was perswaded, that his Honour could not stand without embracing this Action; and since he affected it, no Man durst be his Rival. Besides that, his Enemies gladly put forward this his Design, that they might have him at more Advantage by his Absence from Court. Finally, the Vulgar gave ominous Acclamations to his Enterprize, but the wiser Sort, rather wished than hoped Happy Effects, either to his private or the Publick Good, in Regard of the powerful Enemies he left in Court, (whence all Seconds were to come to him,) and of his own distracted Ends (though inclined to the Publick Good, yet perhaps, in aiming at the speedy End of this War, and some other particulars, not fully concurring with the same.) The

The Earl of *Essex*, when he first purposed to entertain the managing of the *Irish Wars*, advised and obtained, that two Regiments of old Soldiers should be transported out of the Low-Countries into that Kingdom : namely,

The first Regiment.

Sir Charles Percy, Colonel	-	-	200	} 1050 Foot.
Captain Richard Moryson, Lieu-	}	-	150	
tenant Colonel				
Sir Oliver Lambart	-	-	150	
Captain Henry Masterfon	-	-	150	
Captain Randal Bret	-	-	150	
Captain William Turret	-	-	150	
Captain Turner	-	-	100	

The second Regiment.

Sir Henry Dockwra, Colonel (and	}	200	} 950 Foot.
Conductor of all) - - -			
Captain John Chamberlain, Lieu-	}	150	
tenant Colonel - - - -			
Captain Edmond Morgan - - -	150		
Captain Edward Michelburn - - -	150		
Captain Walter Floyd - - - -	150		
Captain Garret Harvy - - -	150		

These Regiments landed in *Ireland* before the Earl's coming over, and were then dispersed by the Earl into divers Regiments of new Men, to season them, and to replenish them with sufficient Officers.

The Earl's Patent was granted with Title of Lord Lieutenant, and with more ample Authority, than many other Lord Deputies had formerly granted them : For whereas others had Power to pardon all Treasons, Felonies, and all Offences, except such Treasons as touched her Majesty's Person, her

her Heirs, &c. and the counterfeiting of Money. This Exception was by the Earl's Importunity left out, which he extorted with wise Providence, since the Lawyers held all Treasons to touch the Prince's Person. And whereas other Lord Deputies had Power to bestow all Offices excepting the chief reserved to the Queen's Gift, his Lordship had Power to bestow some of the chiefest, and to remove all Officers not holding by Patent, and to suspend such as held by Patent. Besides his Lordship had Power in many things, which never had been formerly given to any; as to make martial Laws (he being Lord Marshal of *England*;) and to punish the Transgressors. And to let the Lands of *Tyrone*, and other Rebels named, to any Persons whatsoever, and to their Heirs Males, reserving due Rents to her Majesty. To command the Ships already sent, and to be sent into *Ireland*, except the Lord Admiral were sent forth to Sea, and Commandment were given of joining the said Ships to his Fleet. And lastly, to issue the Treasure according to the two establishments, with Liberty to alter that which was signed by the Lords in *England*, with the Advice and Consent of the Council of *Ireland*, so as he exceeded not the Sum of the Establishments. He had an Army assigned him, as great as himself required, and such for Number and Strength, as *Ireland* had never yet seen.

The Establishment was signed by the Queen the 24th of *March*, being the last Day (after the *English* Account) of the Year 1598. It contained: first, the Pay of the chief Officers in the Army: the Lord Lieutenant General 10*l.* a day; the Lieutenant of the Army 3*l.* a day; the General of the Horse 2*l.* a day; the Marshal of the Camp 1*l.* 10*s.* a day; the Serjeant Major 1*l.* a day; the Lieutenant of the Horse 1*l.* a day; the Quartermaster 1*l.* a day; the Judge

The Establishment.

Marſhal 1 *l.* a day; the Auditor General 13 *s.* 4 *d.* a day; the Comptroler General of the Victuals 10 *s.* a day; the Lieutenant of the Ordnance 10 *s.* a day; the Surveyor 6 *s.* 8 *d.* two Clerks of Munitions each 5 *s.* a day; four Corporals of the Field 6 *s.* 8 *d.* a day a-piece; one Commiſſary of Victuals 8 *s.* and three other, each 6 *s.* a day; the Carriage-Maſter 6 *s.* 8 *d.* a day; and twenty Colonels, each 10 *s.* a day; whereof the total in the Year amounts to 13127 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.*

It contained further the Pay of thirteen hundred Horſe, divided into fix and twenty Bands, each Band having a Captain at 4 *s.* a day; a Lieutenant at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* a day; a Cornet at 2 *s.* a day; and fifty Horſemen, each at 1 *s.* 3 *d.* a day; whereof the total in the Year amounts to 31408 *l.* 5 *s.*

It contained further the Pay of ſixteen thouſand Footmen, diſtributed into one hundred and ſixty Bands, each Band having a Captain at 4 *s.* a day, a Lieutenant at 2 *s.* a day, an Enſign 1 *s.* 6 *d.* a day, two Sergeants, a Drum, and a Surgeon, each at 1 *s.* a day, and ninety four Soldiers, and ſix dead Pays (allowed to the Captain) at 8 *d.* each by the day; whereof the total in the Year amounts to 228246 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Laſtly, It contained an extraordinary Supply of 6000 *l.* to be allowed by Concordatum, for Spies, Guides, Meſſengers, Barks hiring, keeping of Priſoners, Buildings, Reparations, Rewards, and like Charges; the total of the Eſtabliſhment by the Year amounts to 277782 *l.* 15 *s.*

Befides her Maſteſty was at great Charge for many things not contained in the Eſtabliſhment as followeth. Firſt, for Officers general; the Lord Lieutenant for his ordinary Entertainment by the Year, 1300 *l.* his Lordſhip's Band of Horſe by the Year, 1513 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* his Lordſhip's fifty Footmen by the Year, 608 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* (both theſe Bands of Horſe and Foot being not of the Army, I take to be allowed him for his Followers, and the Servants in his

his Family, besides his Company of Horse and Foot in the Army;) the Treasurer at Wars by the Year, 638*l.* 15*s.* the Marshal of the Army by the Year, 104*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* the Master of the Ordnance for himself by the Year, 450*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* and for Clerks, Gunners, and Ministers of the Ordnance by the Year, 459*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* the Muster-master general by the Year, 209*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* Secondly, For chief Officers newly erected. The Governor of *Loughfoyle*, by the Year, 365*l.* the Governor of *Carrickfergus* by the Year, 182*l.* 10*s.* the Governor of *Dundalk* as much; the Commander of the Forces at *Rathdrum* and *Wicklow* as much; the Commander of the Forces in *Ophaly* as much; the Commander of the Forces at *Cavan* as much.

These Payments being made in *Sterling* Money, do amount to 6590*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.*

Observe that all these abovenamed Officers (excepting the Muster-master) as also the Lieutenant of the Army, the General of the Horse, the Serjeant-Major, and likewise the Governors of Provinces and Garrisons, have all beside their Fees, the Command of a Band of Horse, or of Foot, or of both. Thirdly, For Officers in the *Four-Courts*, and certain Patentees: In the *Exchequer*, the Earl of *Ormond*, Lord Treasurer of *Ireland*, hath for his Fee, 40*l.* the Treasurer at Wars, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the chief Baron, 71*l.* 10*s.* and in Augmentation, 88*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* the Chancellor, 14*l.* the second Baron, 34*l.* the Auditor General, 200*l.* the Surveyor General, 80*l.* the Remembrancer, 40*l.* the Serjeant at Law, 17*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the Attorney General, 149*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the Solicitor, 149*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the Escheator, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the second Remembrancer, 10*l.* 10*s.* the chief Ingrosser, 14*l.* the second Ingrosser, 9*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the chief Chamberlain, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the second Chamberlain, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the Clerk of the First-Fruits, 10*l.*

the Keeper of the Records, 13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Usher of the Court, 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Clerk of the *Common Pleas*, 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Transcrip^tor 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Deputy Auditor, 11 *l.* the Vice-treasurer's Deputy 11 *l.* The Somonitor, 5 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Marshal of the Court, 5 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* a Messenger, 2 *l.* 4 *s.* 5 *d.* Farthing; two Pursuivants, each 18 *l.* 5 *s.* Fee; in the *King's Bench*, the chief Justice, 400 *l.* the second Justice, 133 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Clerk of the Crown, 10 *l.*

In the *Common Pleas*, the chief Justice 67 *l.* 10 *s.* and in Augmentation, 88 *l.* 17 *s.* 9 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. the second Justice, 40 *l.* and in Augmentation, 20 *l.* the Protonotor, 10 *l.* In the *Chancery*. The Lord Chancellor, 415 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Master of the Rolls, 50 *l.* and in Augmentation, 88 *l.* 17 *s.* 9 *d.* two Ministers, each 27 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Clerk of the Crown, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* and in Augmentation, 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Clerk of the Hannaper, 14 *l.* divers Officers in the Star-chamber, 56 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* divers Ministers of the Ordnance holding by Patent, 135 *l.* 13 *s.* 5 *d.* Farthing; the Constable of the Castle of *Dublin* and his Warders, with divers other Constables and Porters, 335 *l.* 13 *s.* 2 *d.* Farthing.

For Officers of the State; the Secretary 106 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Clerk of the Council 62 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Surveyor of the Victuals, 143 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the King at Arms, 35 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the Serjeant at Arms, 18 *l.* 2 *s.* 2 *d.* 3 *q.* the Pursuivant at Arms, 13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the *Irish* Interpreter, 27 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* Officers about the Custom, 40 *l.* For Creation Money to Noblemen; the Earl of *Ormond*, 30 *l.* the Earl of *Kildare*, 20 *l.* the Earl of *Clanrickard*, 40 *l.* the Earl of *Thomond*, 20 *l.* the Baron of *Kaher*, 15 *l.* Divers Annates and Procurations, 299 *l.* 19 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. for Parchment, Paper, Ink, Bags, &c. in the *Exchequer*, *King's Bench*, and *Common Pleas*, 282 *l.* 10 *s.* 8 *d.* for other Payments by Warrant, 226 *l.* 2 *s.* 4 *d.*

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2s. 4d. In the County of *Wexford*, the Justice of the Liberties, 20*l.* the Seneschal, 25*l.* the Receiver, 20*l.* the Marshal 2*l.*

The total of these being paid in *Irish* Money, is 4615*l.* 13*s.* $\frac{1}{2}$. which reduced to *Sterling* Money, makes 3461*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*

Fourthly, For Officers in *Leinster*; the Lieutenant of the *Queen's-County*, 121*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the Provost Marshal of the Army, 77*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* the Provost Marshal of *Leinster*, 102*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. these paid in *Sterling* Money, amount to 301*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

Fifthly, For Officers in *Munster*, the Lord President, 130*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* his Diet with the Council allowed at his Table, 520*l.* his Retinue of twenty Foot, with the Officers, and of thirty Horse, 803*l.* the chief Justice 100*l.* the second Justice, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the *Queen's* Attorney, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the Clerk of the Council, 20*l.* the Clerk of the Crown, 20*l.* the Serjeant at Arms, 20*l.* the Provost Marshal 255*l.* 10*s.* the total being paid in *Sterling* Money, is 1951*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Sixthly, For Officers in *Connaught*; the chief Commissioner (or Governor) 100*l.* his Diet with the Council at his Table, 182*l.* 10*s.* an Allowance to himself, 40*l.* the Justice 100*l.* the *Queen's* Attorney, 20*l.* the Clerk of the Crown, 20*l.* the Clerk of the Council, 20*l.* the Serjeant at Arms, 20*l.* the Provost Marshal, 264*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* an Increase of Pay to the present chief Commissioner, 282*l.* 10*s.*

The total being paid in *Sterling* Money, is 949*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Seventhly, Certain Bands of *Irish* Kerne, 579*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

Eighthly, For Warders in several Provinces, 3577*l.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

Ninthly, For Commissaries of Musters, 577*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

Tenthly, Pensioners of all Sorts, as well recorded in the Office of Musters, as those holding by Patent, and recorded with the Auditor, some holding for Term of Years, some during Life, some during good Behaviour, some during Pleasure, 3249 *l.* 9 *d.*

Lastly, Almsmen, 88 *l.* 19 *s.* 4 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

The total of the above-named Charge not contained in the Establishment, is 21328 *l.* 8 *s.* 7 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

Add to this the Establishment, 277782 *l.* 15 *s.*

The total of the yearly Charge, is 299111 *l.* 3 *s.* 7 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

To which if you add the great Charge of all Sorts of Munitions, with the like extraordinary Expences, and do also consider that the thirteen hundred Horse, and sixteen thousand Foot, by new Supplies were made fully twenty thousand; the heavy Burden of this Year's War in *Ireland* will appear.

The Earl of *Essex* had in special Charge from the Queen, to bend all his Forces against the chief Traitor *Tyrone*, (and the *Ulster* Rebels his Confederates,) and withal to plant Garrisons at *Loughfoyle* and *Ballyshannon*, to the End they might at the same time assail him (and them) at the Back (both which Courses his Lordship had in all Councils perswaded, and often taxed the Omissions of them.) Thus with happy Acclamations of the People (who to so worthy a General in the Head of so strong an Army, did ominate nothing but Victory and Triumphs,) yet with a Sun-shine Thunder happening (as Mr. *Cambden* notes for an ominous ill Token:) This noble Lord (accompanied with the Flower of the *English* Gentry, and conducted on his Way with many of the Nobility,) took his Journey from *London* towards *Ireland*, in the End of the Month of *March*, and the Beginning of the Year, 1599, and though Anno 1599. crossed with tempestuous Weather, (wherein the Earl of *Kildare*, and some gallant Gentlemen

tllemen accompanying him in a little Bark, chosen of purpose for speed, were unfortunately cast away,) landed within a few Days at *Dublin*, where according to the Manner of other Governors, he received the Sword.

Upon his Lordship's Demand to be advertised from the Council of the present State of that Kingdom, a Collection thereof, debated and agreed upon in Council, and signed by the Counsellors, was presented to his Lordship the seventeenth of *April*, being to this Effect. First, for the Province of *Leinster*, in the County of *Dublin* all the Mountaineers were in actual Rebellion, as *Phelim Mac Feagh*, and his Brother *Redmond*, with their Sept (or Name) of the *ó Birns*, and *Phelim Mac Feagh* with his Sept of the *ó Tooles*, and *Walter Mac Edmond* chief of the *Galloglasses*, with his Sept of *Mac Donnels*; only two Castles, *Newcastle* and *Wicklow*, Sir *Henry Harrington* held for the Queen, and all the rest of the Country continued loyal. The Rebels thereof were in Number four hundred eighty Foot, and twenty Horse. In the County of *Kildare*, *James Fitz Pierce* a *Geraldine*, two *Geraldines*, base Brothers to the late Earl of *Kildare*, some of the *Delahides*, some of the *ó Dempfies*, and some of the *Eustaces* (of which Sept was the late Viscount *Baltinglasse* attainted), all in Action of Rebellion, were in Number two hundred and twenty Foot, and thirty Horse; all the rest of the Country being wasted by the Rebels yet held for the Queen. In the County of *Catherlough*, being little and all wasted, the Castles of *Catherlough* and *Leighlin*, and her Majesty's House of *Ferns*, held by the Queen's Wards, and six Castles belonging to the Earl of *Ormond*, held for the Queen; but the *Cavanaghs* and *Keytons* were in Rebellion. In the County of *Wexford*, being wasted, all the Castles held for the Queen, and Sir *Thomas Colclough*, Sir *Richard Masterfon*, and Sir *Dudly Loftus*, the

only *English* there inhabiting, held for the Queen. But *Donnel Spaniagh* (alias *Cavanagh*) with all that Sept, the *ô Morroghs*, *Mac Ony More*, all the *Kinsellaghes*, *Dermot Mac Morrice*, and divers others with their Followers, were all in Rebellion, and in those two Counties the Rebels were in Number seven hundred and fifty Foot, and fifty Horse. In the County of *Leax*, called the Queen's County, lately all *English*, now usurped by the Rebels *Owny Mac Rowry ô Moore*, and all the Sept of *ô Moores*, and the chief of the *Galloglasses* in that County, of the Sept of *Mac Donnel*, the Sept of *ô Dempfies* (except *Sir Terence ô Dempfy*) the Sept of *ô Doynes* (except *Teague Oge ô Doyne*), were all in Rebellion, and the base Son of the Earl of *Kildare*, a *Geraldine*, lately came in upon Protection; the Rebels were in Number five hundred seventy Foot, and thirty Horse: *Mr. Hartpole*, *Mr. Bowen*, and *Mr. Pygot*, were the only *English* Inhabitants by whom, and some others, certain Castles were kept for the Queen, besides the Fort of *Maryborough* kept by the Queen's Garrison. In the County of *Ophalie*, called (of *Phillip King of England*) the King's County, lately *English*, the Fort of *Phillipstown* was kept by an *English* Garrison; *Sir George Colley*, *Sir Henry Warren*, *Mr. John Moore*, and *Mr. Phillips*, held their Castles for the Queen; the rest of the Castles were kept by the Sept of the *ô Connors*, then Rebels, and all the Land was wasted, the Sept of the *ô Mollyes* and *ô Donners* were likewise in rebellion, and they were all in Number four hundred sixty and eight Foot, and twelve Horse. In the County of *Kilkenny*, the Viscount of *Mountgarret*, a *Butler*, of the Earl of *Ormond's* Family, and Son-in-Law to *Tyrone*, was in rebellion, with his brethren, and with some of his Sons, and with his Followers, being in Number one hundred and thirty Foot, and twenty Horse, and held the Castles of *Balliragge* and *Colekil*; the rest of the Castles,
and

and the whole County, were held by the Earl of *Ormond* for the Queen. In the County of *Meath*, the Son and Heir of Sir *William Nugent* was in rebellion, and the County, lying in the Heart of the Pale, was greatly wasted by the *Ulster* Rebels, and many Castles lay waste without Inhabitants, but no Rebels possessed either Town or Castle therein. In the County of *Westmeath*, lying for the most part waste, the *Omollaughlines*, and the *Magogbegines*, many of the *Nugents*, and the *Geraldines* were in rebellion, being in Number one hundred and forty Foot, and twenty Horse; besides Captain *Tyrel* (a Rebel of *English* Race), who had of *Ulster* Men and other Strangers two hundred Foot. In the County of *Lowth*, Sir *Edward Moore* and Sir *Francis Stafford* were the only *English* House-keepers, all the Lands were wasted by the *Ulster* Rebels; but the Lord of *Lowth*, an *English-Irish* Baron, and all the Towns and Castles stood firm for the Queen. In the County of *Longford*, all the *Farrells* were in rebellion except two chief Men of that Family, and the Castle of *Longford* was held by an *English* Ward, and the Rebels were in Number one hundred and twenty Foot. The whole Number of the Rebels in this Province of *Leinster* was three thousand forty and eight Foot, and one hundred eighty two Horse.

Secondly, for the Province of *Ulster* (consisting all of *Irish* Septs, except the *Scots* possessing the *Rowt* and *Glinnes*), those of *Lecale*, and the little *Ardes*, held for the Queen, but overaw'd by *Tyrone* were forced to give Way to him to tyrannize in their Countries. *Dundalk*, the frontier Town between the Pale and *Ulster*, and *Knockfergus* (or *Car-rickfergus*), a frontier Town towards *Scotland*, were kept by *English* Garrisons, as likewise the *Newry*, *Carlingford*, *Green Castle*, and *Narrow-water* (all near *Dundalk*), and the Castle of *Ballinacargy* in the *Brenny*, the rest were all in rebellion. Neal
Brian

Brian Fertough, in the upper *Clandebois*, had in Number eighty Foot and thirty Horſe. *Shane mac Brian* in the lower *Clandeboyas*, had eighty Foot and fifty Horſe. The *Whites Country* (or the *Duffery*) had twenty Foot. *Mic Arten* and *Sleaght Mac ó Neal* had one hundred Foot, and twenty Horſe. *Mac Rory*, Captain of *Kiltwanlin*, had fixty Foot, and ten Horſe. *Cormack Mac ó Neal*, Captain of *Kilultogh*, had fixty Foot, and ten Horſe. *Hugh Mac Murtogh*, beyond the *Minwater* had forty Foot. *Shane Mac Brian Carogh*, upon the *Ban-side*, had fifty Foot, ten Horſe. Sir *James Mac Surleyboy*, and his *Scots*, poſſeſſed the *Rowt* and the ſeven *Glynns*, had four hundred Foot, and one hundred Horſe. The *Island of Magee*, belonging to the Earl of *Effex*, was altogether waſte. *Mac Guire* in *Fermannagh* had fix hundred Foot, one hundred Horſe. *Mac Mahown* in *Monaghon*, and *Ever Mac Cooly* in the *Ferny*, and others of that Name in *Glankarvil*, had five hundred Foot, one hundred and fixty Horſe. The *ó Reilly's* in the *Brenny* (or the County of *Cavan*) had eight hundred Foot, one hundred Horſe. *ó Kain* in his Country had five hundred Foot, two hundred Horſe. Sir *Art ó Neal* in *Sleaght Art* had three hundred Foot, fixty Horſe. *Henry Oge* in his Country had two hundred Foot, and forty Horſe. *Tirlogh Mac Henry ó Neal* in the *Fues*, had three hundred Foot, fixty Horſe. *ó Hagan* in his Country had one hundred Foot, thirty Horſe. *ó Quin* in his Country eighty Foot, twenty Horſe. The *Donologhs* in their Country one hundred Foot, fixty Horſe. *Mac Can* in *Clanacan* one hundred Foot, twelve Horſe. *Tyrone*, the Arch-traytor, in *Tyrone*, ſeven hundred Foot, two hundred Horſe. *Cormock Mac Baron*, his Brother, in his Country had three hundred Foot, and fixty Horſe. *Mac Gennis* in *Yuogh* (or *Mac Gennis Country*) had two hundred Foot, forty Horſe. In *Tyrconnel ó Donnel's Country*, Sir *John ó Dogherty* for his Country had three hundred Foot, and

and forty Horfe. *ó Donnel's* Son, in the *Connelaghs* Country, one hundred and fifty Foot, and fifty Horfe. *Mac Swine* for his Country five hundred Foot, and thirty Horfe. *ó Boyle* for his Country one hundred Foot and twenty Horfe. *ó Donnel* himself in the County of *Donnegal* two hundred Foot, sixty Horfe. *ó Gallobore* for his Country (in which his chief House is *Ballishannon*) had two hundred Foot, Forty Horfe. *Sleught Rorie* for his Country one hundred Foot, and fifty Horfe. The Forces of the Rebels in *Ulster* are in all one thousand seven hundred and two Horfe, and seven thousand two hundred and twenty Foot.

Thirdly, for the Province of *Munster*, in the County of *Tipperary*. The Lord Baron of *Cahir a Butler*, with his Brother and Followers, had three hundred Foot, twelve Horfe. *Edmund Fitzgibbon* called the White Knight, (this Nickname given to one for his Grey Hairs, coming as hereditary to his Posterity,) in his Country four hundred Foot, thirty Horfe. *Richard Purfel* Baron of *Loughway*, 200 Foot six Horfe. The *Omulrians*, three hundred Foot, six Horfe. The *Omaighirs* sixty Foot, three Horfe. The *Okennydays* five hundred Foot, thirty Horfe. The *Burkes* in the Lord *Burkes* Country, two hundred Foot, four Horfe. In the County of *Cork*, *James Fitz-thomas*, the supposed Earl of *Desmond*, two hundred and fifty Foot, thirty Horfe. The Lord of *Dowallough* two hundred Foot, eight Horfe. *Barry Oge*, and the Lord *Barry's*, Brother in the Muskery, one hundred and twenty Foot, three Horfe. *Davy Burke* in the *Carbrye*, five hundred Foot. In the County of *Limerick*, *Pierce Lacy*, with divers Septs, had three hundred Foot, and fifteen Horfe. In the County of *Kerry*, the Lord *Fitz-morrice*, *Thomas Oge*, *John Delabyde*, with others, five hundred Foot, thirty Horfe. In the County of *Desmond*, called *Oswyllivan Bear*, and *Oswyllivan Mores* Country, *Dermod mac Owen* (usurping the Name of *mac Arty*

Arty More) had five hundred Foot, six Horfe. In the County of *Waterford*, the Rebels had two hundred Foot, and ten Horfe. In all the Rebels of this Province of *Munster* were strong five thousand thirty Foot, and two hundred forty two Horfe. This number the Earl of *Ormond* judged to be the least, and thought the Horfe one hundred more in Number. Observe, that all the Cities and Port-towns, and almost all the Castles in this Province of *Munster*, and many great Lords and Gentlemen, held for the Queen.

Fourthly and lastly, for the Province of *Connaught*; In the County of *Roscommon*, the Castles of *Roscommon*, *Athlone*, *Tulske*, *Boyle*, and *Ballineslow*, were kept at her Majesty's Charge, and the Rebels of divers Septs had five hundred Foot, sixty Horfe. In the County of *Sligo*, *ô Connor Sligo*, and divers Septs of Rebels, had three hundred Foot, and thirty Horfe, and only the Castle of *Calony* held for the Queen. *Orworke* in *Leitrim* (called *ô Rorke's* Country) had six hundred Foot, sixty Horfe, and not any Castle was kept for the Queen. In the County of *Mayo*, some three Castles lately held for the Queen, but were thought to be rendred up to *Mac William*, who with his Followers had six hundred Foot, sixty Horfe. In the County of *Galway*, the Town of *Gallway*, of *Athenree*, and the Castle of *Milech*, held for the Queen, but many Septs of the Country were in Rebellion, who had some four hundred ninety Foot. In the County of *Clare*, the Earl of *Thomond's* Brother (who first was upon Suspicion committed to Prison by the said Earl, and after released,) with the *ô Brians*, and *mac Mares*, and other Septs, had six hundred Foot, fifty Horfe, and not one Castle was there kept for the Queen. In all, the Rebels of this Province of *Connaught* were strong three thousand and seventy Foot, two hundred and twenty Horfe. And the Rebels in all the four
Provinces

Provinces were strong eighteen thousand two hundred forty six Foot, and two thousand three hundred forty six Horse.

The Earl of *Essex* in the Month of *April* dispatched two Letters to the Lords in *England*; by the first whereof he advertised them of this Strength of the Rebels; and by the second, that *Tyrone* had in Council resolved, first, to hearten his Confederates, and strengthen them in their dependency on his Protection; then to make two Heads against the Queen's Forces, the one in *Ulster*, of some six thousand Horse and Foot, under his own Command, and the other in *Connaught* of some four thousand Horse and Foot under *Donnel's* Command: And further advertised their Lordships, that many in *Munster* had taken a solemn Oath at a publick Cross in that Province, to be stedfast in their Rebellion. And that no Traitor sought Pardon, but used such insolent Behaviour, as might well shew they had no such Thought. That the Minds of the very Subjects were so alienated from the *English*, as well for Religion as Government, as some who could bring one hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot into the Field upon private Revenge, would protest not to be able to serve the State with six Horse or Foot. That every active Borderer had a Solicitor with the Rebels, and almost every one of the greatest in the State had some Rebel or other to his Client. Concluding, that small or no Assistance could be promised from the *Irish*, so as howsoever the Queen's Army was great, yet he durst boldly say, that the Plaister would do no more than cover the Wound.

After few Days of rest, good Part of the *English* Forces being drawn together, this noble Lord Lieutenant gave Entrance to his first Actions, from which the Progress commonly receiveth a Kind of ominous Lustre or Stain. And therein he attempted not the Head of the Rebellion, according to his own Advice in *England*, and the Queen's express

press Command, but was induced by some of the Council in that State, aiming at their own private interest, more than the Publick Good, to lead his Forces against some few Rebels in *Munster*, where he took the Castle of *Cahir*, belonging to *Edward Butler*, Baron of *Cahir*, and making a great Prey of the Rebels Cattle in those Parts, he cast the Terror of his Forces on the weakest Enemies, whom he scattered and constrained to fly into Woods and Mountains, to hide themselves.

The fifteenth of *June*, while the Lord Lieutenant was yet in this *Munster* Journey, he received Advertisement from a Captain, whom he had employed by Sea into the *North*, to spy out *Tyrone's* Actions, that two Ships lately come from *Spain*, had put Confidence in *Tyrone*, who went from *Dungannon* to *Loughfoyle* about that Business, but they brought only Munition, not any Treasure. That *Tyrone* had given Forces to *Bryan mac Art*, Son to *Art mac Baron*, that he might take Pledges, and watch over *Neal mac Bryan*, whom he suspected, and had charged *Mac Genis* to do the like over *Mac Cartan*, also suspected by him, so as there was no possibility to parley with them, according to the Instructions given by his Lordship. That *Tyrone* kept his great Pledges, *Shane ó Neal's* Sons, in an Island, within a strong fastness, but as yet had neither gathered at home, nor received from Foreign Parts any Treasure. That both *Tyrone* and *ó Donnel* had their Agents in the out Isles of *Scotland*, to solicit the Redshanks to assist them for pay. That the King of *Spain* had promised them aid of Men, which they would not have landed in *Ulster*, but in some Port of *Munster*, or at *Galway* in *Connaught*. That *Scots* daily carried Munition to them, which Traffick might be hindred by two Gallies with Oars, but no Ships using Sails could stop their Passage. That the gross of the *Northern* Rebels in *Ulster*, and Part of *Connaught* drawn together, would

would be nine thousand Foot, and one thousand four hundred Horse. That they were confident to draw the War into such a length, as should be unsupportable to the State of *England*. To which End *ó Donnel* had hired a Mass of Redshanks, who were to be cessed in *Connaught* and *Munster*, because *Tyrone*, having deadly feud with some of the chief Leaders, durst not trust them in *Ulster*. Besides that upon Arrival of Foreign Treasure, great Multitudes of those *Scots* were like to flock unto them. And to the same End *Tyrone* had made strong fastnesses or Entrenchments, as well upon the Passages of *Loughfoyle* and *Ballisbannon*, (where he left Forces to resist the *English* Garrisons to be sent thither,) as at the *Blackwater*, and *Ballinemoyree*, himself purposing to meet the *English* Army in the Woods of *Ballinemoyree*, between *Dundalk* and the *Newry*, where he hoped to make some of the best to drop, and after to fall back at his Pleasure to like Fights of Advantage, which he had prepared at the *Blackwater*. So as the only means suddenly to break those Rebels, was to hire 4000 Redshanks, to break in upon them, (by advantage of their rowing Boats) into the Heart of *Tyrone*, between these Intrenchments, where they might easily take from him all his Wealth, consisting in Cattle, and there entrench themselves, and in despite of all *Tyrone's* Forces, be supplied with all Necessaries from the *Scottish* Islands. And indeed to this Purpose, the Lord *Bourgh*, if he had not been prevented by sudden Death, had contracted with those *Scots*, promising 4000 Men for the first Month's pay, 1200 Pound, the chief Leader a Colonel's pay, and certain Captains the pay of a Captain of 100 Men. After which Month, their Septs were to be cessed for their Victuals, upon such Countries, as they must have fought with the Rebels for every Morfel: Namely, the Sons of *Agnus mac Connel* with their Sept, upon the Route, the Glinnes, and

and *North* Clandeboy, who for the Pretence they had to inherit that Country, would prosecute *James mac Surley*, the Possessor thereof to the uttermost. *Donnel Grome* and his Sept, upon *Yuogh*, being *mac Genis* his Country. - The *mac Clean*'s and their Sept, upon the *South* Clandeboy, and the *Duffren*. All which Septs were to put in Pledges to the Lord *Bourgh*, not to prey any under the Queen's Protection, and to depart the Kingdom, when his Lordship should please no longer to make use of their Service.

The fiveandtwentieth of *June*, during the said *Munster* Journey, the Lord Lieutenant wrote unto the Queen this Letter following.

WHEN this shall come to your Majesty's Hands, I know not; but whensoever it hath that Honour, give it leave (I humbly beseech your Majesty) to tell you, that having now passed through the Provinces of *Leinster* and *Munster*, and been upon the Frontier of *Connaught*, (where the Governor and the chief of the Province were with me;) I dare begin to give your Majesty some Advertisement of the State of this Kingdom, not as before by hear-say, but as I beheld it with mine own Eyes. The People in general have able Bodies by Nature, and have gotten by custom ready use of Arms, and by their late Successes Boldness to fight with your Majesty's Troops. In their Pride they value no Man but themselves, in their Affections they love nothing but Idleness and Licentiousness, in their Rebellion they have no other End, but to shake off the Yoke of Obedience to your Majesty, and to root out all remembrance of the *English* Nation in this Kingdom. I say this of the People in general, for I find not only the greater Part thus affected, but that it is a general Quarrel of the *Irish*, and they who do not profess it, are either so few, or so false, that there is no account to be made of them.

The

The *Irish* Nobility and Lords of Countries, do not only in their Hearts affect this plausible Quarrel, and are divided from us in Religion, but have an especial Quarrel to the *English* Government, because it limiteth and tieth them, who ever have been, and ever would be as absolute Tyrants, as any are under the Sun. The Towns, being inhabited by Men of the same Religion and Birth as the rest, are so carried away with the Love of Gain, that for it, they will furnish the Rebels with all Things that may arm them, or enable them against the State, or against themselves. The Wealth of the Kingdom, which consisteth in Cattle, Oat-meal, and other Victuals, is almost in the Rebels Hands, who in every Province, till my coming, have been Masters of the Field. The Expectation of all these Rebels is very present, and very confident, that *Spain* will either so invade your Majesty, that you shall have no Leisure to prosecute them here, or so succour them, that they will get most of the Towns into their Hands, ere your majesty shall relieve and reinforce your Army. So that now if your Majesty resolve to subdue these Rebels by Force, they are so many, and so framed to be Soldiers, that the War of force will be great, costly, and long. If your Majesty will seek to break them by Factions amongst themselves, they are covetous and mercenary, and must be purchased, and their Jesuits, and practising Priests, must be hunted out and taken from them, which now do fodder them so fast, and so close together. If your Majesty will have have a strong party in the *Irish* Nobility, and make use of them, you must hide from them all purpose of establishing *English* Government, till the Strength of the *Irish* be so broken, that they shall see no Safety but in your Majesty's Protection. If your Majesty will be assured of the Possession of your Towns, and keep them

from supplying the Wants of the Rebels, you must have Garrisons brought into them, able to command them, and make it a Capital Offence for any Merchant in *Ireland*, to trade with the Rebels, or buy or sell any Arms or Munition whatsoever. For your good Subjects may have for their Money out of your Majesty's Store, that which shall be appointed by Order, and may serve for their necessary Defence, whereas if once they be tradable, the Rebels will give such extreme and excessive Prices, that they will never be kept from them. If your Majesty will secure this your Realm from the danger of Invasion, as soon as those which direct and manage your Majesty's Intelligences, give notice of the Preparations and Readiness of the Enemy, you must be as well armed, and provided for your Defence: Which Provision, consists in having Forces upon the Coast, inrolled and trained, in having Magazines of Victual in your Majesty's *West* and *North-West* Parts, ready to be transported; and in having Ships both of War and Transportation, which may carry and waft them both, upon the first Alarm of a Descent. The enrolling and training of your Subjects, is no charge to your Majesty's own Coffers: The providing of Magazines, will never be any loss, for in using them, you may save a Kingdom, and if you use them not, you may have your old store sold, and (if it be well handled) to your Majesty's Profit. The arming of your Majesty's Ships, when you hear your Enemy arms to the Sea, is agreeable to your own provident and princely Courses, and to the Policy of all Princes and States of the World. But to return to *Ireland* again, as I have shewed your Majesty the Dangers and Disadvantages, which your Servants and Ministers here shall and do meet withal, in this great Work of reducing this Kingdom. So I will now (as well as I can) represent to your Majesty your Strengths and Advantages.

tages. First, these Rebels are neither able to force any walled Town, Castle, or House of Strength, nor to keep any that they get, so that while your Majesty keeps your Army in Strength and Vigour, you are undoubtedly Mistress of all Towns and Holds whatsoever. By which Means (if your Majesty have good Ministers) all the Wealth of the Land shall be drawn into the Hands of your Subjects; your Soldiers in the Winter shall be easily lodged, and readily supplied of any Wants, and we that command your Majesty's Forces, may make the War Offensive and Defensive, may fight and be in Safety, as occasion is offered. Secondly, your Majesty's Horsemen, are so incomparably better than the Rebels, and their Foot are so unwilling to fight in Battle or gross, (howsoever they be desirous to skirmish and fight loose,) that your Majesty may be always Mistress of the Champion Countries, which are the best Parts of this Kingdom. Thirdly, your Majesty victualling your Army out of *England*, and with your Garrisons burning and spoiling the Country in all Places, shall starve the Rebel in one Year, because no Place else can supply them. Fourthly, since no War can be made without Munition, and Munition this Rebel cannot have, but from *Spain*, *Scotland*, or your own Towns here, if your Majesty will still continue your Ships and Pinaces upon the Coast, and be pleased to send a Printed Proclamation, that upon Pain of Death no Merchant, Towns-man, or other Subject, do traffick with the Rebel, or buy or sell in any Sort any Kind of Munition or Arms, I doubt not, but in short Time I shall make them Banker out of their old Store, and I hope our Seamen will keep them from receiving any new. Fifthly, your Majesty hath a rich Store of gallant Colonels, Captains, and Gentlemen of Quality, whose Example and Execution is of more use, than all the rest of your Troops; whereas the Men

of best Quality among the Rebels, which are their Leaders, and their Horsemen, dare never put themselves to any hazard, but send their Kern, and their Hirelings to fight with your Majesty's Troops; so that although their common Soldiers are too hard for our new Men, yet are they not able to stand before such gallant Men as will charge them. Sixthly, your Majesty's Commanders being advised and exercised, know all Advantages, and by the Strength of their Order, will in all great Fights beat the Rebels. For they neither march nor lodge, nor fight in Order, but only by the benefit of their Footmanship can come on, and go off at their Pleasure, which makes them attend a whole Day, still skirmishing, and never engaging themselves. So that it hath been ever the Fault and Weakness of your Majesty's Leaders, whensoever you have received any Blow. For the Rebels do but watch and attend upon all gross oversights. Now if it please your Majesty to compare your Advantages and Disadvantages together, you shall find, that though these Rebels are more in Number than your Majesty's Army, and have (though I do unwillingly confess it) better Bodies and perfecter use of their Arms, than those Men which your Majesty sends over; yet your Majesty, commanding the walled Towns, Holds, and Champion Countries, and having a brave Nobility and Gentry, a better Discipline, and stronger order than they, and such means to keep from them the Maintenance of their Life, and to waste the Country, which should nourish them, your Majesty may promise your self, that this Action will (in the End) be successful, though costly, and that your Victory will be certain, though many of us your honest Servants must sacrifice ourselves in the Quarrel, and that this Kingdom will be reduced, though it will ask (besides Cost) a great deal of Care, Industry, and Time. But why do I talk of
Victory,

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Victory, or of Success? It is not known, that from *England* I receive nothing but Discomforts and Souls Wounds? Is it not spoken in the Army, that your Majesty's Favour is diverted from me, and that already you do bode ill both to me and it? Is it not believed by the Rebels, that those whom you favour most, do more hate me out of Faction, than them out of Duty or Conscience? Is it not lamented of your Majesty's faithfullest Subjects both there and here, that a *Cobham*, or a *Raleigh* (I will forbear others for their Places sake) should have such Credit and Favour with your Majesty, when they wish the ill Success of your Majesty's most important Action, the Decay of your greatest Strength, and the Destruction of your faithfullest Servants? Yes, yes, I see both my own Destiny, and your Majesty's Decree, and do willingly embrace the one, and obey the other. Let me honestly and zealously end a wearisome Life, let others live in deceitful and unconstant Pleasure; let me bear the brunt, and die meritoriously; let others achieve and finish the Work, and live to erect Trophies. But my Prayers shall be, that when my Sovereign loseth me, her Army may not lose Courage, or this Kingdom want Physick, or her dearest self miss *Essex*, and then I can never go in a better Time, nor in a fairer Way. Till then, I protest before God and his Angels, that I am a true Votary, that is sequestred from all things but my Duty and my Charge; I perform the uttermost of my Body's Mind's and Fortune's Ability, and more should, but that a constant Care and Labour agrees not with an inconstant Health, in an unwholesome and uncertain Climate. This is the Hand of him, that did live your dearest, and will die,

Your

Majesty's

Faithfullest Servant,

Essex.

F 3

Towards

Towards the End of *July* his Lordship brought back his Forces into *Leinster*, the Soldiers being weary, sick, and incredibly diminished in Number, and himself returned to *Dublin*. All that his Lordship had done in this Journey, besides the scattering of the Rebels weak Troops, was the taking of *Cahir* Castle, and receiving the Lord of *Cahir*, the Lord *Roche*, and some others into her Majesty's Protection, who after his Departure did either openly fall again to the Rebels Party, or secretly combine with them. While his Lordship was in this Journey, some 600 Men left in the *Glins*, by the Unskilfulness of some young Captains and Soldiers, and the ill Affection of some *Irish* Officers, received a disgraceful Blow from the *ó Birns*, whereupon his Lordship, now severely punished their Fault, disarming the Soldiers, and executing the tenth Man, calling the Captains to a Martial Court, and discharging them, and condemning to be shot to death an *Irish* Lieutenant, who had parlied with the Rebels, and was thought to have animated them. Then his Lordship understanding that the Queen was much offended with this *Munster* Journey, he cast in his Letters the Fault on the Council of *Ireland*, whose Advice, by reason of their long Experience in those Wars, he thought fittest to follow, at his first Entry, but withal gave her Majesty full Assurance that he wou'd presently lead the Army into *Ulster* against *Tyrone* himself. Yet these Letters were scarce delivered, when by others he signified a Necessity of a Journey into *Ophalia* and *Leax* near *Dublin*, against the *ó Connors* and *ó Mores*, whom he brake with ease, himself leading some 1500 into *Ophalia*, and sending Sir *Christopher Blunt*, the Marshal, into *Leax*, with 1000 Men, under the Command of Sir *Charles Percy*, and Sir *Richard Moryson*. Then at his Return, taking a View of the Army, he found it so weakened, as by Letters
signed

signed by himself and the Council there, he desired a Supply of 1000 Foot out of *England*, to enable him presently to undertake the *Ulster* Journey.

Thus resolved to march Northward, he commanded Sir *Conyers Clifford*, Governor of *Connaught*, to draw his Forces up to *Belike*, that he might force *Tyrone* to send some of his Forces that Way, while he assailed him on the other side. Sir *Conyers Clifford* accordingly marched this Way with 1400 Foot by Pole, and the Earl of *Southampton's* Troop of 100 Horse, under the Leading of Capt. *John Jephson*, with some other *Irish* Horse: And coming to the *Curlew* Mountains, he left the Munition and Carriages under the Guard of the Horse, till he passing forward with the Foot had tried the Passage. He had not gone far, before *ó Rorke* and other Rebels with him, upon the Advantage of Woods, Bogs, and a stony Causey, assailed our Men, who at the first valiantly repelled them, till the Rebels finding the Munition our Men had about them beginning to fail, renewed the Charge with greater Fury than before; at which time our Men, discouraged with the Want of Powder, (almost all they had about them being spent, and their Store being behind with the Carriage,) as also wearied with a long march they had made before the Skirmish, began to faint, and take themselves to flight, whom the Rebels pursued, and killed some 120 in the Place, among which the Governor, Sir *Conyers Clifford*, and a worthy Captain, Sir *Alexander Radcliff*, were lost, besides as many more hurt, whereof the greatest Part recovered. And no doubt the rest had all perished, if the Horse had not valiantly succoured them. For the Lord of *Dunkellyn* (who that Day had most valiantly behaved himself) sent Word to Captain *John Jephson* of their Distress, who presently charged upon the Causey, and to the very Skirts of the Wood, with

such Resolution, as the Rebels either thinking Horse could not have served there, or expecting Advantages upon them in that boggy Place, stood gaping on them, and gave way, without any Resistance for a good Space, in which our Men had Leisure to retire over a Ford, into the Plain, where the Carriages were, and thence to the Abby of the *Boyle*, being very near the Place. Afterwards the Rebels began to charge our Horse, but their Powder being almost spent, Captain *Jephson* safely retired, with the Loss of some few Horses. In a Consultation, some were earnest to have marched forward the next Day: But the Lord of *Dunkellin*, Sir *Arthur Savage*, Capt. *John Jephson*, and many of the best Judgment, considering the Governor was lost, our Troops utterly dismay'd, and *ó Donnel* come down with all his Forces into those Parts, thought fit our Men should retire to their Garrisons. So Capt. *Jephson* all that Night kept the Ford, while our Foot in the silent Night retired, and in the Morning when they were in Safety, he with the Horse under his Command went softly after them to the Castle of *Athlone*. It is strange, the Rebels then present being but some 200, and most of our Men being old Soldiers, how this Defeat could be given, but small Accidents in military Affairs, are often Causes of strange and great Events: For I have heard this Milchance fully attributed to an unorderly Turning of the whole Body of the Van; which though it were toward the Enemy, yet being mistaken by some common Soldiers for a Flight, it caused a general Rout.

In the mean time the foresaid Supply of 1000 Foot was sent out of *England* to the Lord Lieutenant, according to his and the Council's Request. But few Days after, his Lordship signified by his Letters into *England*, that he could do no more this Season of the Year, than to draw

1300 Foot, and 300 Horſe to the Borders of *Ulſter*. Whither he came about the Ides of *September*, and *Tyrone* two Days together ſhewed himſelf and his Troops upon diſtant Hills, to the *Engliſh*. Then *Tyrone* ſent *Hagan* to the Lord Lieutenant, to intreat a Parley between his Lordſhip and him; which his Lordſhip reſuſed, anſwering, that if *Tyrone* would ſpeak with him, he ſhould find him next Day in Arms, in the Head of the Army. The next Day, after a light Skirmiſh, one of *Tyrone's* Horſemen cried with a loud Voice, that *Tyrone* would not fight, but would ſpeak with the Lord Lieutenant, and that unarmed, and both withdrawn aſide from the Forces. The next Day, when his Lordſhip marched forwards, *Hagan* met him again, and declared to him, that *Tyrone* beſought the Queen's Mercy, and that he would vouchſafe to ſpeak one Word with him, which granted, he would in all Humbleneſs attend his Lordſhip at the Ford *Balla-clinch*, near the chief Town of the County of *Louth*. His Lordſhip ſent ſome before, to view the Ford, who found *Tyrone* there, and he aſſured them, that howſoever the Waters were ſomething riſen, yet they might eaſily hear one another from each Side. His Lordſhip being come thither, *Tyrone* leaving a Troop of Horſe upon a Hill not far off, came down alone, and putting his Horſe up to the Belly in the Water, with all Humbleneſs ſaluted his Lordſhip ſtanding on the other Bank, and there they paſſed many Speeches. Then *Tyrone* called his Brother *Cormack*, *Mac Gennys*, *Mac Guire*, *Ever Mac Couley*, *Henry Ovington*, and *ô Quin*, to the Ford, the Lord Lieutenant having firſt called the Earl of *Southampton*, *Sir George Bourcher*, *Sir Warham St. Leger*, *Sir Henry Davers*, *Sir Edward Wingfeld*, and *Sir William Conſtable*, to come down. *Tyrone* very Courtly ſaluted each one, and after ſhort Conference, it was concluded, that the next Day Com-
miſſioners

missioners should meet to treat of Peace, and they made a mutual Truce from that Day for six Weeks, and so from six Weeks to six Weeks, till the Callends of *May*, with Caution, that it should be free to either Side, upon fourteen Days Warning first given, to renew the War. And if any of the Earl of *Tyrone's* Confederates should not assent hereunto, he left them to be prosecuted, by the Lord Lieutenant.

By this time the Queen had received his Lordship's last Letters above mentioned, signifying that he could only for this Winter, draw to the Confines of *Ulster*, with 1300 Foot, and 300 Horse; at which time, to justify his Resolution, he sent the Judgment of the chief Commanders of the Army, subscribed with their Hands, dated the 21st of *August*, that for that time more could not be enterprized for these Reasons; that the Army was unwilling to be drawn towards *Ulster*, so as many ran away from their Colours; that many were sick; that no Plantation could be made this Year at *Loughfoyle*, nor any Course taken to divert *Tyrone's* Forces; that the *Connaught* Army was defeated; that his Lordship's Army had not above 4000 able Men at the most; that these were unable to stand against the Rebels, being 6000 shot, and lying within strong Intrenchments; that much less any strong Garrisons could be left in the North, and a safe Retreat made; and lastly, that those Garrisons, if they could be left there, would more endanger the *English* (being continually to supply them with Victuals in Winter time) than annoy the Rebels. Her Majesty being highly offended, that so royal an Army, maintained with her excessive Charge, had in six Months effected nothing, and now gave no hope of any important Service to be done against the Rebels, wrote a sharp Letter to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Council of *Ireland*, as followeth.

Elizabeth

*Elizabeth Regina.**By the Queen.*

Right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Counsellor, and trusty and well beloved, We greet you well. Having sufficiently declared unto you before this time, how little the manner of your Proceedings hath answered, either our Direction, or the World's Expectation. And finding now by your Letters by *Cuffe*, a Course more strange, if stranger may be, we are doubtful what to prescribe you at any time, or what to build upon by your own Writings to us in any thing. For we have clearly discerned of late, that you have ever to this Hour possessed us with Expectations, that you would proceed as we directed you. But your Actions shew always the contrary, though carried in such sort, as you were sure we had no time to countermand them.

Before your Departure, no Man's Counsel was held sound, which perswaded not presently the main Prosecution in *Ulster*, all was nothing without that, and nothing was too much for that. This drew on the sudden Transportation, of so many thousands to be carried over with you, as when you arrived we were charged with more than the List, or which we resolved, to the Number of 300 Horse; also the thousand which were only to be in Pay during the Service in *Ulster*, have been put in Charge ever since the first Journey. The Pretence of which Voyage, as appeareth by your Letters was to do some present Service, in the *interim*, whilst the Season grew more commodious for the main Prosecution; for the which purpose, you did importune with great Earnestness, that all manner of Provisions might be hastned to *Dublin* against your Return.

Of this Resolution to defer your going into *Ulster*, you may well think that we would have made stay,

stay, if you had given us more time, or if we could have imagined by the Contents of your own Writings, that you would have spent nine Weeks abroad. At your Return, when a third Part of *July* was past, and that you had understood our Mislike of your former Course, and making your Excuse of undertaking it only in respect of your Conformity to the Council's Opinions, with great Protestations of haste into the North, we received another Letter, of new Reasons to suspend that Journey yet awhile, and to draw the Army into *Ophalia*. The Fruit whereof was no other at your coming home, but more Relations of further Miseries of your Army, and greater Difficulties to perform the *Ulster* War. Then followed from you and the Council a new Demand of *Cambden* faith 2000 Men to which if we would assent, only 1000, you would speedily undertake what we had so often commanded. When that was granted, and your going onward promised by divers Letters, we received by this Bearer now fresh Advertisement, that all you can do, is to go to the Frontier, and that you have provided only for twenty Days Victuals. In which kind of Proceeding, we must deal plainly with you and that Council, that it were more proper for them, to leave troubling themselves with instructing us, by what Rules our Power and their Obedience are limited, and to bethink them, if the Courses have been only derived from their Councils, how to answer this Part of theirs, to train us into a new Expence for one End, and imploy it upon another; to which we could never have assented, if we could have suspected it should have been undertaken, before we heard it was in Action. And therefore we do wonder how it can be answered, seeing your Attempt is not in the capital Traitors Country, that you have increased our List: But
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it is true as we have often said, that we are drawn on to Expence, by little and little, and by Protestations of great Resolutions in Generalities, till they come to particular Execution. Of all which Courses, whosoever shall examine any of the Arguments used for Excuse, shall find, that your own Proceedings beget the Difficulties, and that no just Causes do breed the Alteration. If lack of Numbers, if Sickness of the Army be the Causes, why was not the Action undertaken, when the Army was in better State? If Winter's Approach, why were the Summer Months of *July* and *August* lost? If the Spring was too soon, and the Summer that followed otherwise spent, if the Harvest that succeeded was so neglected, as nothing hath been done, then surely must we conclude, that none of the four Quarters of the Year will be in Season for you and that Council, to agree of *Tyrone's* Prosecution, for which all our Charge was intended. Further, we require you to consider, whether we have not great Cause to think, that the Purpose is not to end the War, when your self have so often told us, that all the petty Undertakings in *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Connaught*, are but Loss of Time, Consumption of Treasure, and Waste of our People, until *Tyrone* himself be first beaten, on whom the rest depend. Do you not see, that he maketh the War with us in all Parts by his Ministers, seconding all Places where any Attempts be offered: Who doth not see, that if this Course be continued, the Wars are like to spend us and our Kingdom beyond all Moderation, as well as the Report of the Success in all Parts hath blemished our Honour, and encouraged others to no small Proportion. We know you cannot so much fail in Judgment, as not to understand, that all the World seeth, how time is dallied, though you think the Allowance of that Council, whose Subscriptions are your Ecchoes, should serve and satisfy

tisfy us. How would you have derided any Man else, that should have followed your Steps? How often have you told us, that others which preceded you, had no Intent to end the War? How often have you resolved us, that until *Loughfoyle* and *Ballyshannon* were planted, there could be no hope of doing Service upon the capital Rebels? We must therefore let you know, that as it cannot be Ignorance, so it cannot be want of Means, for you had your asking, you had Choice of Times, you had Power and Authority more ample than ever any had, or ever shall have. It may well be judged, with how little Contentment, we search out this and other Errors; for who doth willingly seek for that, which they are so loth to find, but how should that be hidden which is so palpable? And therefore to leave that which is past, and that you may prepare to remedy Matters of Weight hereafter, rather than to fill your Papers with many impertinent Arguments, being in your general Letters, favouring still in many Points of Humours, that concern the private of you our Lord Lieutenant; we do tell you plainly, that are of that Council, that we wonder at your Indiscretion, to subscribe to Letters which concern our publick Service, when they are mixed with any Man's private, and directed to our Council Table, which is not to handle things of small Importance.

To conclude, if you will say, though the Army be in List 20000, that you have them not, we answer then to our Treasurer, that we are ill served; and that there need not so frequent Demands of full Pay: If you will say the Muster-master is to blame, we much muse then why he is not punished, though say we might to you our General, if we would *Ex Jure proprio judicare*, that all Defects by Ministers, yea though in never so remote Garrisons, have been affirmed to us, to deserve to be imputed to the Want of Care of the General. For the small Proportion you say you carry with
you

you of 3500 Foot, when lately we augmented you 2000 more. It is to Us past Comprehension, except it be that you have left still too great Numbers in unnecessary Garrisons, which do increase our Charge, and diminish your Army, which We command you to reform, especially since you, by your continual Reports of the State of every Province, describe them all to be in worse Condition, than ever they were before you set Foot in that Kingdom. So that whosoever shall write the Story of this Year's Action, must say, that We were at great Charges to hazard Our Kingdom, and you have taken great Pains to prepare for many Purposes, which perish without Understanding. And therefore because We see now by your own Words, that the Hope is spent of this Year's Service upon *Tyrone* and *ô Donnel*, We do command you and our Council, to fall into present Deliberation, and thereupon to send Us over in Writing, a true Declaration of the State to which you have brought our Kingdom, and what be the Effects which this Journey hath produced, and why these Garrisons which you will plant far within the Land in *Brenny* and *Monaghan*, as others whereof We have written, shall have the same Difficulties.

Secondly, We look to hear from you and them jointly, how you think the remainder of this Year shall be employed, in what Kind of War, and where, and in what Numbers, which being done, and sent Us hither in writing with all Expedition, you shall then Understand Our Pleasure in all Things fit for our Service, until which Time, We command you to be very careful to meet with all Inconveniencies, that may arise in that Kingdom, where the ill affected will grow insolent upon Our ill Success, and the good Subjects grow desperate, when they see the best of Our preserving them.

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We have seen a writing in form of a Cartel, full of Challenges that are impertinent, and of Comparisons that are needless, such as have not been before this Time presented to a State, except it be done now with a hope to terrify all Men, from censuring your Proceedings. Had it not been enough to have sent Us the Testimony of the Council, but that you must call so many of those, that are of slender Experience, and none of Our Council, to such a form of Subscription. Surely howsoever you may have warranted them, We doubt not but to let them know, what belongs to Us, to you, and to themselves. And thus expecting your Answer, We end, at our Mannor of *Nonfuch* the 14th of *September*, in the 41st. Year of Our Reign, 1599.

The Lord Lieutenant being nettled, Lord's Justices. or rather galled with this Letter, resolved to leave *Adam Loftus* the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, and Sir *George Cary* Treasurer at Wars, to govern the Kingdom in his Absence, and presently sailing into *England*, posted to the Court, where altogether unlooked for, he arrived the 28th of *September*, and presented himself on his Knees to the Queen, early in the Morning, being in her private Chamber, who received him not with that chearful Countenance, which she was wont to shew him, but after a brief Conference, commanded him to retire to his Chamber, and there to stay, until he knew her further Pleasure; from whence his Lordship's next remove, was to the Lord Keeper's House, in State of a Prisoner.

The List of the chief Officers of the Kingdom, and the Army and the Disposal of the Forces made in September, 1599, when the Lord Lieutenant left the Kingdom.

Officers and Governors. Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of *Essex*, Lord President of *Munster*, void by the Death of Sir *Thomas Norris*. Place of chief Commissioner of *Connaught* void or provisional. Lieutenant of the Army, Earl of *Ormond*. Treasurer at War, Sir *George Carey*. The Marshal's Place of *Ireland* void. Master of the Ordnance, Sir *George Boucher*. Marshal of the Camp, provisionally, Sir *Oliver Lambert*. Lieutenant of the Horse, Sir *Henry Davers*. Serjeant Major, Sir *Arthur Chichester*.

Colonels of Horse. Sir *William Evers*, Sir *Griffin Markham*.

Colonels of Foot. Earl of *Kildare*, Earl of *Thomond*, Lord of *Dunkellin*, Lord *Audley*, Lord *Dunsany*, Sir *Edward Denny*, Sir *Matthew Morgan*, Sir *Charles Piercy*, Sir *Henry Dockwra*, Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, Sir *John Bolles*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, Sir *Charles Wilmot*, Sir *Henry Power*, Sir *Arthur Savage*.

Four Corporals and a Provost-Marshal of the Army.

The Disposal of the Forces.

Horse in *Munster*. The Earl of *Thomond*, 25.
Sir *Anthony Cook*, 50. Sir *Warham St. Leger*, 25.
Capt. *Thomas White*, 50.

Foot in *Munster*. Earl of *Thomond*, 200. Master-Treasurer, 100. Sir *Henry Harrington*, 100. Sir *Henry Power*, 200. Sir *Edward Denny*, 150. Sir *Anthony Cook*, 100. Sir *Charles Wilmot*, 150. Sir *Francis Barkley*, 100. Sir *John Dowdal*, 100. Capt. *William Power*, 150. Capt. *Clare*, 150. Capt. *Brown*, 100. Capt. *Keamys*, 100. Capt. *Bostock*, 100. Capt. *Brook*, 100. Capt. *Rande*, 100. Capt. *Flower*, 100. Capt. *Diggs*, 100. Capt. *William Tirwhit*, 150. Capt. *Parker*, 100. Capt. *William Hartpoole*, 100. Capt. *Francis Kingesmil*, 100.

Horse in *Connaught*. Earl of *Clanrickard*, 50. Provost Marshal, 10. Sir *Theobald Dillon*, 15. Capt. *George Blunt*, 12.

Foot in *Connaught*. Earl of *Clanrickard*, 100. Lord of *Dunkellyn*, 150. Sir *Arthur Savage*, 200. Sir *Thomas Bourk*, 100. Sir *Gerald Harvy*, 150. Sir *Hugh ó Connor*, 100. Sir *Theobald Dillon*, 100. Capt. *Badbye*, 150. Capt. *Richard Plunket*, 100. Capt. *Mostion*, 100. Capt. *Tibot ne Long*, 100. Capt. *Walter Floyd*, 150. Capt. *Thomas Roper*, 150. Capt. *Oliver Bourk*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Bourk*, 100. Capt. *David Bourk*, 100.

Horse at *Carrickfergus*. *Neal Mac Hugh*, 30.

Foot at *Carrickfergus*. Sir *Arthur Chichester*, 200. Sir *Richard Piercy*, 150. Capt. *Eington*, 100. Capt. *Norton*, 100.

Horse at the *Newry*. Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, 50.

Foot at the *Newry*. Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, 200. Capt. *Edward Blaney*, 150. Capt. *Freckleton*, 100. Capt. *Josias Bodley*, 150. Capt. *Francis Stafford*, 100. Capt. *Toby Caulfeild*, 150. Capt. *Leigh*, 100.

Foot at *Dundalk*. Capt. *Egerton*, 100. Capt. *Bingley*, 150. Capt. *Basset*, 100.

Foot at *Atherdee*. Sir *Garret Moor*, 100. Capt. *Roe*, 100.

Horse at *Kells* and *Navan*. Lord of *Dunsany*, 50. Sir *Garret Moor*, 25.

Foot at *Kells* and *Navan*. Lord *Audley*, 200. Lord *Dansany*, 150. Sir *Fulk Conway*, 150. Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, 200. Sir *Henry Dockwra*, 200. Sir *John Chamberlayne*, 150. Capt. *John Sidney*, 100. Capt. *Ralph Sidley*, 100. Capt. *Roger Atkinson*, 100. Capt. *Heath*, 150. Capt. *Nelson*, 100. Capt. *Hugh Reilly*, 100.

Horse at *Trim*. Sir *Griffin Markham*, 50.

Foot at *Trim*. Sir *Charles Piercy*, 200. Capt. *Roger Orme*, 100. Capt. *Alford*, 100.

Foot at *Leax* and the *Barrow-side*. Sir *Warham St. Leger*, 150. Sir *Francis Rush*, 150. Capt. *John Fitz Piers*, 150. Mr. *Hartpool*, 10.

Foot at *Enniscorthy*. Sir *Oliver Lambert*, 200. Sir *Richard Masterfon*, 150.

Horse in and about the *Naas*. The Earl of *Kildare*, 50. Capt. *Richard Greame*, 50. Capt. *Thomas Gifford*, 25. Capt. *George Greame*, 12. Capt. *Thomas Lee*, 12.

Foot in and about the *Naas*. Earl of *Kildare*, 150. Earl of *Southampton*, 200. Sir *Matthew Morgan*, 150. Sir *Thomas Loftus*, 100. Capt. *Walter Mac Edmond*, 100. Capt. *Edward Loftus*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Williams*, 150. Capt. *Thomas Lee*, 100. Capt. *William Eustace*, 100. Capt.

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Esmond, 150. Capt. *John Masterfon*, 100. Capt. *Ellis Flood*, 100. Capt. *R. Trevor*, 100.

Foot at *Mullingar*. The Lord of *Delvin*, 150. Capt. *Thomas Mynne*, 100. Capt. *William Stafford*, 100. Capt. *Lionel Ghest*, 100. Capt. *William Winsor*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Cooche*, 100. Capt. *Garret Dillon*, 100.

Foot in *Ophaly*. Sir *Henry Cooly*, 20. Sir *Henry Warren*, 100. Sir *Edward Fitz-gerald*, 100. Sir *George Cooly*, 20.

Horse at *Kilkenny*. The Earl of *Ormond*, 50. Sir *Oliver Lambert*, 25. Sir *Walter Butler*, 50. Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, 30. Capt. *Garret Fleming*, 25. Capt. *William Taffe*, 50.

Foot at *Kilkenny*. The Earl of *Ormond*, 200. Sir *Carew Reynel*, 150. Sir *Henry Follyot*, 150. Capt. *Richard Croft*, 100. Capt. *Henry Sheffeild*, 100. Capt. *Nicholas Pinner*, 100.

Foot at *Ballymore*, and *ô Carrol's Country*. Capt. *Francis Shane*, 100. Capt. *Edward Lister*, 100. Sir *Charles ô Carrol*, 100.

Horse and Foot at *Newcastle*. Sir *William Warren*, 50 Horse. Sir *William Warren*, 100 Foot.

Foot at *Athboy* and *Phillipstown*. Sir *Richard Morison*, 200. Sir *George Bourcher*, 100.

Foot at *Dublin*. Sir *Henry Foulkes*, commanding the Lord Lieutenant's Guard, 200.

Horse at *Fingall*, and the *Navan*. Sir *William Evers*, 100. The Earl of *Southampton's* Troop, commanded by Capt. *John Jephson*, 100. Sir *Henry Davers*, 100.

Horse

Horfe in the County of *Dublin*. Sir *Henry Harrington*, 25. Sir *Edward Herbert*, 12. Sir *Gerald Aylemer*, 13. *Murrogh Mac Teigue Oge*, 10.

Foot undispos'd. Sir *John Talbot*, 22.

Total of Horfe	1231
Total of Foot	14422

The foresaid Lords Justices being left to govern *Ireland*, upon the Lord Lieutenant's sudden Departure, did easily rule the unwieldy Helm of this Kingdom, so long as the Sea was calm, by the Continuance of that Truce formerly mentioned to be made between the Lord Lieutenant and *Tyrone*, which was then concluded for six Weeks, and so from six Weeks to six Weeks, till the Calends of *May*, except either of them should give fourteen Days Warning of their purpose to break the same. But about the Beginning of *December*, *Tyrone's* Party entring into Acts of Hostility, the Lord's Justices sent Sir *William Warren* to expostulate with him the Cause of this Breach, he answered, that he had not broken the Truce, having, (according to the Condition thereof) given them fourteen Days Warning, and that he had so done, because the Earl of *Essex* being imprisoned in *England*, in whom he had placed all the Confidence of his Life and Estate, he was resolved not to rely on the Council of that Kingdom, who had formerly dealt deceitfully with him therein; Finally, that he could not now renew the Truce, though he never so much desired it, since he had already sent *ô Donnel* into *Connaught*, and divers of his Confederates into other Parts, to renew the War.

Thus much their Lordships advertised into *England*, by Letters full of diffidence, professing that they feared the Rebels would presently assault the *English* Pale: Likewise, some ill affected to the Earl of *Essex* advertised, that among the Rebels a common Rumour was spread, and that no doubt from *Tyrone*, that *England* would shortly be in combustion within itself, which increased the Suspensions already conceived of the foresaid Conference had between the Earl and *Tyrone*, to the great Prejudice of the Earl being in durance.

Now her Majesty receiving these advertisements, and further understanding that the Rebels daily increased in Number and Courage, that the meer *Irish* aspired to Liberty, and that the *English-Irish*, if perhaps well-affected, yet were daunted by the ill Success of the Queen's Affairs, (whose great Expences, and Royal Army they had seen vanish into Smoak), and were besides exasperated with an old Grief, to be excluded themselves from the Government, while *English* Deputies were daily sent to command them. And having Intelligence that *Tyrone*, full of Pride, did every where boast himself as Champion of the *Irish* Liberty and *Romish* Religion (every where receiving to his Protection, and cherishing all seditious Persons, helping the weak with Succours, confirming the diffident with strong Hopes), and that he was grown confident to root out the *English* Government, as well by former Successes, as by the Succour of the King of *Spain*, (who already had sent him some Munition and a little Money, with bragging Promises of greater Supplies), and by the fair Promises and large Indulgences sent from the Pope, with a Crown of Phœnix Feathers (perhaps in Imitation of Pope *Urban* III. who sent *John*, the Son to King *Henry* II. then made Lord of *Ireland*, a little Crown woven of Peacocks Feathers.)

Her

Her Majesty, I say, having these advertisements, and finding thereby that it was high Time to make strong Opposition to this rebellious Monster, made choice of *Charles Blount*, Lord *Mountjoy*, to be Deputy of *Ireland*, whom her Highness had the last Year purposed to employ in that Place: At which Time, the Earl of *Essex*, though linked in near Friendship with him, yet secretly opposed this her Majesty's Determination, alledging that the Lord *Mountjoy* had small Experience in martial Affairs, save what he had gained in the small Time he served in the Low-Countries, adding that he was too bookish, and had too few Followers, and too small an Estate to embrace so great a Business; so as the Earl not obscurely affecting this Employment himself, (to the End he might more strongly confirm that Dependency which all military Men already had on him) and his Enemies willingly giving second to this his Ambition, (that by his Absence they might have better Advantages to hurt him, and to benefit themselves), at that Time the said Earl easily drew this fatal Government on his own Shoulders, which was one of the first Steps, and not the least Cause of his Ruin.

Being now to write of this honourable Lord *Mountjoy*, my deceas'd Lord and Master, I do faithfully profess, and pray the Reader confidently to believe, (which I hope most easily to obtain of those, (who best know me), that as in the Duty of a Servant I will not omit any Thing I remember which may turn to his Lordship's Honour, so in my Love to Truth, I will be so far from lying and flattering, as I will rather be bold modestly to mention some of his Defects, whereof the greatest Worthies of the World cannot be altogether free. To which I will only add, that as I esteem Lying and Flattery by Word of Mouth, among the

*Charles
Blount, Lord
Mountjoy,
Lord Deputy.*

Living, to be infallible Notes of Baseness and Ignorance, so I judge these Vices infamous and sinful when they are left in print to deceive Posterity; Since the first may detect Falshood by inquiring the Truth, but the latter have no Means to rectify their misinformed Judgments.

Thus I return to proceed in my former Narration; and first I will delineate (after my best Skill) the true Portraiture of this worthy Lord's Body and Mind; then I will collect the Councils by which he tamed this Monster of Rebellion; and lastly, I will descend by order of Time to his Lordship's particular Actions. But ere I take my Pencil in Hand to figure this noble Lord's Person, I must acknowledge my Weakness such as I cannot fully apprehend his compleat Worthiness, and therefore desire that those of greater Judgment to discern the same will impute all Defects to the Unskilfulness of the Workman, and that with others, to whom his Lordship was less known, my rude Pen may not derogate any Thing from his due Praise. Again, give me leave to remember that which I received from his Mouth, that in his childhood, when his Parents would have his Picture, he chose to be drawn with a Trowel in his Hand, and this Motto, *Ad reedificandum antiquam domum*, To rebuild the ancient House: For this noble and ancient Barony was decay'd, not so much by his Progenitors Prodigality, as his Father's obstinate Addiction to the Study and Practice of Alchimy, by which he so long labour'd to increase his Revenues, till he had almost fully consumed them. Now to the Purpose, let us observe how he fulfilled this ominous Presage, in rebuilding that noble House, till by his untimely Death the same was fatally eclipsed again.

He was of Stature tall, and of very comely Proportion, his Skin fair, with little Hair on his Body, which Hair was of Colour blackish (or incli-
ning

ning to black), and thin on his Head, where he wore it short, except a Lock under his left Ear, which he nourished the Time of this War, and being woven up, hid it in his Neck under his Ruff: The Crown of his Head was in his latter Days something bald, as the Forepart naturally curled; he only used the Barber for his Head, for the Hair on his Chin (growing slowly) and that on his Cheeks and Throat, he used almost daily to cut it with his Scissars, keeping it so low with his own Hand that it could scarce be discerned, as likewise himself kept the Hair of his upper Lip something short, only suffering that under his nether Lip to grow at length and full; yet some two or three Years before his Death he nourished a sharp and short Pike-devant on his Chin. His Forehead was broad and high; his eyes great, black, and lovely; his Nose something low and short, and a little blunt in the End; his Chin round; his Cheeks full, round, and ruddy; his Countenance chearful, and as amiable as ever I beheld of any Man, only some two Years before his Death, upon Discontentment, his Face grew thin, his ruddy Colour failed, growing somewhat swarthy, and his Countenance was sad and dejected; his Arms were long and of proportionable Bigness; his Hands long and white; his Fingers great in the End, and his Legs somewhat little, which he gartered ever above the Knee, wearing the Garter of St. George's Order under the left Knee, except when he was booted, and so wore not that Garter, but a blue Ribbon instead thereof above his Knee, and hanging over his Boot.

The Description of his Apparel may be thought a needless Curiosity, yet must I add some few Words thereof, because having promised the lively Portraiture of his Body, as well as his Mind, the same cannot otherwise be so lively represented to the Imagination; besides, that by his Cloaths some Difabilities

lities of his Body to undertake this hard War may be conjectured, and especially the Temper of his Mind may be lively shadowed, since the Wise-man hath taught us, that the Apparel in some Sort shews the Man. His Apparel in Court and Cities was commonly of white or black Taffatas or Sattins, and he wore two (yea, sometimes three) Pairs of Silk Stockings, with black Silk Grogam Clocks guarded, and Ruffs of comely Depth and Thickness (never wearing any falling Band), black Beaver Hats with plain black Bands, a Taffata quilted Wastecoate in Summer, a scarlet Wastecoate, and sometimes both in Winter: But in the Country, and specially keeping the Field in *Ireland*, (yea, sometimes in the Cities), he wore Jerkins and round Hose (for he never wore other Fashion than round) with laced Panes of ruffet Cloth, and Cloaks of the same Cloth lined with Velvet, and white Beaver Hats with plain Bands; and besides his ordinary Stockings of Silk he wore under Boots another Pair of Woollen or Worsted, with a Pair of high Linnen Boot-hose, yea, three Wastecoats in cold Weather, and a thick Ruff, besides a Ruffet Scarff about his Neck thrice folded under it; so as I never observed any of his Age and Strength to keep his Body so warm. He was very comely in all his Apparel, but the Robes of *St. George's* Order became him extraordinarily well.

For his Diet, he used to fare plentifully and of the best, and as his Means increased, so his Table was better served, so that in his latter Time no Lord in *England* might compare with him in that Kind of Bounty. Before these Wars he used to have nourishing Breakfasts, as Ponadoes and Broths; but in the Time of the War he used commonly to break his Fast with a dry Crust of Bread, and in the Spring Time with Butter and Sage, with a Cup of stale Beer, wherewith sometimes in Winter he would have Sugar and Nutmeg mixed. He fed
plentifully

plentifully both at Dinner and Supper, having the choicest and most nourishing Meats, with the best Wines, which he drunk plentifully, but never in great Excess; and in his latter Years (especially in the Time of the War, as well when his Night-sleeps were broken, as at other Times upon full Diet) he used to sleep in the Afternoons, and that long, and upon his Bed. He took Tobacco abundantly, and of the best, which I think preserved him from Sickness, (especially in *Ireland*, where the foggy Air of the Bogs, and waterish Fowl, plenty of Fish, and generally all Meats with the common Sort always unsalted and green roasted, do most prejudice the Health), for he was very seldom sick, only he was troubled with the Head-ach, which duly and constantly like an Ague for many Years, till his Death, took him once every three Months, and vehemently held him some three Days, and himself in good Part attributed, as well the reducing of this Pain to these certain and distant Times as the Ease he therein found, to the Virtue of this Herb. He was very neat, loving Cleanliness both in Apparel and Diet, and was so modest in the Necessities of Nature, as myself being at all Hours (but Time of sleep) admitted into his Chamber, and (I think) his most familiar Friends never heard or saw him use any Liberty therein, out of the Privilege of his private Chamber, except perhaps in *Irish* Journies, where he had no withdrawing Room.

The tender using of his Body, and his dainty Fare before the Wars, gave *Tyrone* Occasion, upon hearing of his coming over, to jest at him, as if all Occasions of doing Service would be past e're he could be made ready and have his Breakfast, but by woful Experience he found this Jest to be the Laughter of *Solomon's* Fool. His Behaviour was courtly, grave, and exceeding comely, especially in Actions of solemn Poms. In his Nature he
loved

loved private Retiredness, with good Fare, and some few choice Friends. He delighted in Study, in Gardens, an House richly furnished, and delectable for Rooms of Retreat, in riding on a Pad to take the Air, in playing at Shuffle-board, or at Cards, in reading Play-books for Recreation, and especially in fishing and Fish-ponds, seldom using any other Exercises, and using these rightly as Pastimes, only for a short and convenient Time, and with great Variety of Change from one to the other. He was undoubtedly valiant and wise. He much affected Glory and Honour, and had a great Desire to raise his House, being also frugal in gathering and saving, which in his latter Days declined to Vice, rather in greedy gathering, than in restraining his former Bounties of Expence: So that howsoever his Retiredness did alienate his Mind from all Action, yet his Desire of Honour and Hope of Reward and Advancement by the Wars, yea, of returning to this Retiredness after the Wars ended, made him hotly embrace the forced Course of the War; to which he was so fitted by his Wisdom, Valour, and Frugality, that in short Time he became a Captain no less wise, wary, and deliberate in Council, than chearful and bold in Execution, and more covetous in issuing the publick Treasure, than frugal in spending his own Revenues: And his Care to preserve his Honour, and maintain this Estate, made him (though coldly) entertain the like forced Course of a State Counsellor at Home after the Wars. To the managing of which Affairs he was no less enabled by the same Valour, Wisdom, and many other Virtues, had not the Stream of his Nature, prevailed to withdraw him from attending them, further than to the only obtaining of these his own private Ends. But surely these Dispositions of Nature (besides others hereafter to be mentioned), and these his private Ends, made him of all Men most fit for
this

this *Irish* Employment, wherein the Queen and State longed for an End of the War, and groaned under the Burthen of an unsupportable Expence.

Touching his affecting Honour and Glory, I may not omit, that his most familiar Friends must needs observe, the Discourses of his *Irish* Actions to have been extraordinarily pleasing to him: so that, howsoever he was not prone to hold Discourses with Ladies, yet I have observed him more willingly drawn to those of this Nature, with which the *Irish* Ladies entertained him, than into any other. And as he had that commendable, yea necessary Ability of a good Captain, not only to fight and manage the War well abroad, but to write and set forth his Actions to the full at home, so I have seldom observed any Omission of like Narrations in him, whereof he used to delate the more weighty seriously, and to mention the smallest, at least by way of a Jest.

Touching his Studies or Bookishness, (by some imputed to him in detraction of his fitness to embrace an active Imployment,) he came young and not well grounded from *Oxford* University; but in his youth at *London*, he so spent his vacant Hours with Scholars best able to direct him, as besides his reading in Histories, Skill in Tongues, (so far as he could read and understand the *Italian* and *French*, though he durst not adventure to speak them,) and so much Knowledge (at least in Cosmography and the Mathematicks) as might serve his own Ends; he had taken such Pains in the search of natural Philosophy, as in divers Arguments of that nature held by him with Scholars, I have often heard him, (not without marvelling at his Memory and Judgment) to remember of himself the most material Points, the subtlest Objections, and the soundest Answers. But his chief delight was in the study of Divinity, and more especially in reading of the Fathers and Schoolmen: For I have heard himself
profess,

profess, that being in his Youth addicted to Popery, so much as through prejudicate Opinion no Writer of our Time could have converted him from it, yet by observing the Fathers Consent, and the Schoolmens idle and absurd Distinctions, he began first to distaste many of their Opinions, and then by reading our Authors, to be confirmed in the reformed Doctrine, which I am confident he professed and believed from the Heart, though in his innate Temper he was not factious against the Papists, but was gentle towards them, both in Conversation and in all Occasions of Disputation. And I will be bold to say, that of a Lay-man, he was (in my Judgment) the best Divine I ever heard argue, especially for disputing against the Papists, out of the Fathers, Schoolmen, and above all, out of the Written Word, (whereof some Chapters were each Night read to him, besides his never intermitted Prayers at Morning and Night.) Inasmuch as I have often heard him, with strange felicity of Memory and Judgment, discover the Papists false alledgings of the Fathers, and Texts, or Additions, and Omissions in them, and to urge Arguments strongly, and (as much as beseemed him) Scholar-like, as well in Discourses with Jesuits and Priests in *Ireland*, (more especially at *Waterford*, where he made the very seduced *Irish* ashamed of them,) as upon divers Occasions with other Papists his Friends.

Further, in his Nature he was a close concealer of his Secrets, for which Cause, least they should be revealed, and because he loved not to be importuned with Suits, a free Speaker, or a popular Man, could not long continue his Favourite: He was sparing in Speech; but when he was drawn to it, most judicious therein, if not eloquent. He never used swearing, but rather hated it, which I have seen him often controul at his Table with a frowning Brow, and an angry cast of his black Eye.

Chap. I. of IRELAND. III

Eye. He was slow to Anger, but once provoked, spoke home. His great Temper was most seen in his wise Carriage between the Court Factions of his Time: He was a gentle Enemy, easily pardoning, and calmly pursuing Revenge; and a Friend, if not cold, yet not to be used much out of the Highway, and something too much reserved towards his dearest Minions; besides that, the Strength of his judgment made him so confident, as they had more Power in seconding his Councils, then in diverting or altering them. To his Servants he was mild, seldom reproving them, and never with ill Words: for his look of Displeasure was sufficient to check them, and the best sort nearest him, did so well know him, as they served and observed him, as much almost by his Looks as his Words. He made no Servant Partner of his Secrets, further than his Place necessarily gave him Knowledge thereof, neither could any of them lead him, or if they did, it was more by art to know his Humours, than Power to sway them. I cannot say that he was bountiful to them, some of their Places drew Profit, which could no more be stopped, than the Miller can stay the draining of his Water through his Dam Gates; otherwise his Gifts to them were rare and sparing, so as it were above 100 *l.* it was no Morfel for a Servant, yet still he kept their hopes so green, as might continue their Diligence, and at his death he gave 1000 *l.* by Will, to be divided by his Executors Discretion among them. They who had his Ear, might easily season him with good or ill Opinion of his Servants and Strangers, by reason he drank in their Speeches, without uttering them, only his Judgment was excellent, to discern the truth of the Relation, as well out of the Informer's Passions, as observing the other's Actions. He kept his Word in Publick Affairs inviolably, without which he could never have been trusted of the *Irish*: But otherwise in his Promises,

Promises, he was delatory and doubtful, so as in all Events, he was not without an Evasion. Lastly, in his Love to Women, (for as wanton Peace succeeds bloody War, so in the last period of his Life, after the *Irish* Wars, Grief of unsuccessful Love brought him to his last End :) He was faithful and constant, if not transported with Self-love more than the Object, and therein obstinate.

This worthy Lord *Mountjoy* was he, whose known Valour, sound Wisdom, grave Constancy, and singular Temper, two old Counsellors of *Ireland* well observing, did on their death Bed, (as it were by a divining Faculty) pronounce to be the Man, by whom *Tyrone's* fatal Rebellion (in which their Thoughts and Endeavours had long been wearied) was to be suppressed, if ever the *English* were to recover the Helm of that Government. Neither did their Presage deceive us therein: For like another *Fabius*, he did by the ensuing deliberate and slow Councils, restore his Country's declining Power.

1. He entertained and cherished (especially at his first entering the Government, when he was yet unskillful in the Affairs of that State and War) all active Spirits, whose Endeavours he saw like to be of good use in that great Action; and this he did, rather with a pleasing Familiarity, than with any large Bounty.

2. The Hearts of the *English* common Soldiers, broken with a current of disastrous Successes, he heartned and encouraged, by leading them warily, especially in his first Actions, being more careful, that our Men should not be foiled, than that the Rebels should be attempted with Boldness. To this End also, and that he might be ever at hand, as well to encourage and direct them fighting, as to second them by any accident dismayed, he bravely adventured his Person, more than in the opinion of Military
wife

wise Men, a General should ordinarily hazard himself (howsoever I must confess, the nature of the *Irish* fights, maintained upon Passages, by sudden Eruptions of hidden Rogues, doth more expose the General to these Dangers, than any other War.) And such was his forwardness, as his Lordship's Servants may without Offence boldly say, they were a small Part of this great Action. For howsoever we had neither stipend in the Wars with the Soldier, nor Pensions with them after the War ended, yet by reason of this our Lord's Extraordinary forwardness to put himself into Danger, and for that the Rebels use most commonly to assault upon Woody Paces, and difficult Passages, where every Man must needs be in Danger, and they must who ride in the best Troop, it could not be but that we should have our share in the Adventure of our Persons. And lest I should seem to arrogate that to myself and my Fellows, which is not due to us, the Event may clear this Point. Since in this short War (not to speak of many less Dangers,) my Lord himself had his Horse shot under him, his *Gallows* carrying his Helmet, had the same bruised with the grasing of a Bullet upon it, yea, his Lordship's very Greyhound, likewise using to wait at his Stirrop, was shot through the Body. Among his Lordship's Chaplains, Doctor *Lattware* was killed, and Mastr. *Ram* had his Horse shot under him. Among his Lordship's Secretaries, Master *Cranmer* was killed, and myself had my Thigh bruised with a shot I received in my Saddle. Among the Gentlemen of his Lordship's Chamber, Master *Chidley* had his Horse killed under him, Master *Done* was shot in the Leg, and Master *Saint John*, a Gentleman attending near his Lordship, was killed. I have heard a pleasant report of a General in our Age, who on the contrary was so sparing to hazard himself: As a Gentleman his Follower, hearing some marvel at a cold Piece of Service performed by

his Master, merrily replied for his own excuse, that he went to follow his General, and not to go before him. But I will boldly say, that if our noble Lord's Followers did well attend his Person, they found danger enough without seeking it. But enough (and I fear too much) of this Point, I will now return to this worthy Lord's Councils, by which he effected this great Work.

3. The Rebels being swoln to the height of Pride by their full Numbers, and much more by continual Success in their Actions, he proceeded inlike sort with them, as formerly with his own Men, at the first warily tasting them with light skirmishes, yet he so prudently and bravely pursued his Attempts, as he still carried what he attempted.

4. The wise Distribution of the Forces availed him much: For first he planted Garrisons upon the chief Rebels Countries, as likewise he compassed *Tyrone* on every Side with them, which kept the Rebels at home, so as they could not second one another, for fear of losing their own Goods.

5. And whereas other Deputies used to make some two or three Journies in a Summer against the Rebels, and then did lead a great Army with them. And whereas this kind of Service never took any good Effect, as well because the Bruit thereof came long before to the Rebels, as because these great Forces could not long be kept together. So as the Rebels hearing the Bruit of any such Journey, took Victuals with them for certain Days, and assembling themselves together, did lie upon the Bogs and hard Passages, where without Danger to themselves, they were able to annoy the greatest Army could be led against them. This noble Lord *Mountjoy* on the contrary, (as I said) by Garrisons keeping them at home, himself kept the Field with some thousand Foot and 200 Horse (whereof my self have many times observed

served the greater Part to be *English Irish*,) and not only was able to affront *Tyrone* himself (specially since the Garrisons lying upon his Country drew towards him at the same time, on all Sides together,) but also (by reason of his singular Secrecy, in keeping his Purposes unknown, and casting out false Reports of them to deceive the Rebels) had the Opportunity to assail and spoil any one of the Rebels on the sudden, while he kept all the rest like dazed Larks in continual fear, as well of himself, as of the Garrisons adjoining.

6. Again, where other Deputies used to assail the Rebels only in Summer time, this Lord prosecuted them most in the Winter, being commonly five Days at least in the Week on Horseback, all the Winter long. This brake their Hearts; for the Air being sharp, and they naked, and they being driven from their Lodgings, into the Woods bare of Leaves, they had no Shelter for themselves. Besides that, their Cattle (giving them no Milk in the Winter) were also wasted by driving to and fro. Add that they being thus troubled in the Seed-time, could not sow their Ground. And as in Harvest-time, both the Deputies Forces, and the Garrisons, cut down their Corn, before it was ripe, so now in Winter-time they carried away, or burnt all the Stores of Victuals in secret Places, whether the Rebels had conveyed them.

7. Again, he had a special Care to cut down and clear the difficult Passages, that so our Forces might with more Safety meet together, and upon all Occasions second one another.

8. For Protections and Pardons (the easy obtaining whereof had formerly encouraged the Rebels, as well to enter into Rebellion, as to break their Faith after Submissions, in hope to be again received to Mercy,) although it was necessary for the State in this general Rebellion, like a Mother, to open her Bosom to her Children, lest being

driven to Despair, they should plunge themselves into all Mischiefs, yet he never received any to Mercy, but such as had so drawn Blood on their fellow Rebels, and were themselves made so poor, as there was small Danger of their relapse. To which end he forbad all Conferences and Parleys with the Rebels, by Pretence whereof many treacherous Plots had formerly been drawn, by the false-hearted Subjects, and many Corruptions had been practised by some covetous Commanders. But to such as were received to Mercy, (that he might take away the Diffidence they had long conceived of the State,) he kept his Word inviolable.

9. And whereas these rebellious People, are by Nature clamorous (which made them tedious in Complaints,) and also use great Oppression under the Shadow of Justice, (which made them continually importune the Governors with Petitions, which being signed by them, gave those *Irish* Lords a Shadow of Authority to oppress the People, by shewing the Governor's Hand, and concealing the Matter to which he subscribed. This worthy Lord Deputy, for their Encouragement in the first, used singular Patience in hearing their tedious Complaints, and for the second, gave them such dilatory Answers, as might well hearten them in Obedience, but could no way strengthen their Tyranny over the poor People.

10. To conclude, nothing furthered this noble Lord more in his Designs, than his singular Temper, not so much in Secrecy, and in Sparingness of Speech (though many great Captains have hindered their Proceedings by letting fall rash Speeches,) as more especially in Court Factions: For he used in such sort the familiar Love of the Earl of *Essex*, in his doubtful Courses, as he not only kept him from entertaining dangerous Counsels, so long he lived with him in *England*, but de-
meaned

meant himself towards his Enemies with such Moderation, as he little provoked their Envy, yea, rather gained an Inclination of their good Affection towards him. So as they at this time governing all the Affairs in *England*, were ready to give all possible Seconds to his Ends, which (as I formerly shewed) did aim at nothing but the speedy End of this War. By these Counsels this worthy Lord restored the declining State of *Ireland*, from the desperate Terms wherein he now found it.

I have before set down, in the Earl of *Essex* his Government, the Power of the Rebels, through all the Provinces of *Ireland*, and have shewed, that at his Lordship's leaving that Kingdom, the same was nothing abated, and from that time, the Rebels were in all Parts increased. The Mountain Rebels in the County of *Dublin*, then 480 Foot, 20 Horse, now by the going out of the *Walsbes* and *Harrols* were increased 100. In the County of *Kildare*, the Rebels then in Number 220 Foot, and 30 horse, were now more than doubled, by the going out of the *Breminghams*, all the *Leynaghs*, and many of other Septs. In the two Counties of *Catherlough* and *Wexford*, the Rebels then 750 Foot and 50 Horse, were now increased an hundred. In the County of *Ophaly*, five strong Castles then held by the *English*, were now betrayed, and above 468 Foot, and 12 Horse then were in Rebellion, but now *Mac Coughlan* was gone out with 200 more, and the *o Doins* with 100 more, were now in Rebellion. In the County of *Meath* the Rebels were increased in Number 150; by the *Delahides*, the *Rockfords*, *Hussies*, and *Darcies*. And beyond the River, Capt. *John o Reilly*, having then 100 Foot in her Majesty's Pay, well armed, was now revolted. In the County of *West-Meath*, the Rebels then 140 Foot and 20 Horse, were now increased 100 at least, by the Revolt of the eldest

The Rebels
Strength.

Son of *William Nugent*, second Brother to the Lord of *Deluin*, with divers of the *Petties* and *Daltons*. In the County of *Longford*, the Rebels then 120 Foot, were now increased 180; so the Rebels in *Leinster* being then in the whole Number 3048 Foot, and 182 Horse, were now increased 1280, and made in all 4510.

For the Province of *Munster*, *Tyrone* in his present Journey thither, taking Pledges of almost all the *Irish* Lords and Gentlemen, the Number of the Rebels were now there increased beyond Estimation.

For the Province of *Connaught*, the Rebels were increased 300, by the Revolt of *ó Connor Sligo*, besides the Uncertainty of *Tybot ne Long*, who had 100 *Irish* Men in her Majesty's Pay.

So as at this time, I may boldly say, the Rebellion was the greatest Strength. The meer *Irish* puffed up with good Success, and blounded with happy Encounters, did boldly keep the Field, and proudly disdain the *English* Forces. Great Part of the *English Irish* were in open Action of Rebellion, and most Part of the rest, temporised with the State, openly professing Obedience, that they might live under the Protection thereof, but secretly relieving the Rebels, and practising with them for their present and future Safeties. Among the *English*, the worthy Generals of this Age, partly by this fatal War, partly by the Factions at home, were so wasted, as the best Judgments could hardly find out any Man fit to command this Army in chief. The *English* common Soldiers, by Looseness of Body, the natural Sickness of the Country, by the Poverty of the War in which nothing was to be gained but Blows, and by the late Defeats, wherein great Numbers of them had perished, were altogether out of Heart. The Colonels and Commanders, though many in Number, and great in Courage and Experience, yet

yet by these Considerations of the Army's Weakness, were somewhat dejected in Mind. Yea, the very Councillors of State were so diffident, as some of them in late Conferences with *Tyrone*, had descended (I know not upon what Warrant) to an abject Intreaty for a short Cessation. Not to speak of the general Distraction of the Hearts of all Men in *England*, and much more of the Soldiers, by the Factions of this Age, between the worthy Earl of *Essex* now imprisoned and his Enemies, able to ruin a great Kingdom, much more to divert the Success of any great Action. And the general Voice was of *Tyrone* among the *English*, after the Defeat of *Blackwater*, as of *Hannibal* among the *Romans*, after the Defeat of *Cannas*; *Thou knowest how to overcome: but thou knowest not how to use Victory*. To conclude, not only the remote Parts, but the very Heart of the Kingdom now languished under the Contagion of this Rebellion. *Leax* and *Ophalia* being possessed by the *ô Mores*, and the *ô Connors*; and the *Glynns* or mountainous Country on the South-West Side of *Dublin*, being in the Hands of the *ô Byrns* and and *ô Tooles*, (and more remotely of the *Cavanaghs*,) who nightly made Excursions to the very Gates of the City, giving Alarm of War to the long-gown'd Senate, and (as it were) to the Chair of Estate. In this miserable Estate was *Ireland*, when the Lord *Mountjoy*, like a good Planet, with a fortunate Aspect began to shine thereon, whose happy Actions I will now set down particularly, yet as briefly as I can.

The 10th of *January*, towards the End of the Year 1599, the Lords of *England* signified by their Letters, to the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, and Sir *George Carey* Treasurer at War, which were then Lords Justices of that Kingdom, that from that Day forward, the Entertainment due to them as Lords Justices,

should cease, and be conferred on *Charles Blount* Lord *Mountjoy*, whom her Majesty had made Lord Deputy.

And now *Tyrone* (who hitherto had contained himself in the North, only making short Excursions from thence into the Pale,) being proud of Victories, and desirous to shew his Greatness abroad, resolved with his Forces to measure the length of *Ireland*, and to the End he might, by his Presence strengthen, and increase the Rebellion in *Munster* (which in Absence by Practices he had raised,) under the religious Pretence of visiting a Piece of Christ's Cross, kept for a holy Relick in the Monastery of the holy Cross in the County of *Tipperary*, he entred this Journey about the 20th of *January*. On the 23d the Rebels of *Brenny* met him in the *Cavan*, from whence he marched forward, taking the Rebels of *Leinster* in his Company, and leading with him some 2500 Foot and 200 Horse, leading the Rest of his Forces, and the Gentlemen of the North to guard those Parts. The Intent of his Journey, was to set as great Combustion as he could in *Munster*, and so taking Pledges of the Rebels, to leave them under the Command of one chief Head.

This Month of *January*, her Majesty signed that Warrant, which is vulgarly called the great Warrant for *Ireland*, whereby Authority is given to the Lord Treasurer and Chamberlain of the *Exchequer* in *England*, that according to an Establishment, after signed by her Majesty the 1st of *February*, and to begin that Day, (wherein the Army is reduced to 12000 Foot, and 1200 Horse,) they should pay to the Treasurer at Wars for *Ireland* such Sums, as should be signed by six of the Privy-Council of *England*, the Lord Treasurer, the principal Secretary, and the Under-Treasurer always being three of them. Secondly, above the 4000*l.* for Extraordinaries therein mentioned, to
pay

pay him such Sums as should by the same be signed. Thirdly, to pay in like sort according to an Establishment or List of Officers and others not contained in the former Establishment, it not exceeding yearly 15000*l.* which List was then to be signed by the Lords of her Majesty's Council. Fourthly, to pay in like sort divers Officers payable out of the Revenues, in case the Revenues extended not to pay them. Fifthly, to pay in like sort all Sums for reinforcing the Army, for Levies of Men for conducting, transporting, and victualling them at Sea, according to the Rates of the first Establishment.

The Establishment signed by her Majesty, the 1st of February, 1599.

The Lord Deputy's Entertainment to be paid according to the List after following, which List was to be signed by the Lords. Officers of the Army; Lieutenant of the Army *per diem*, 3*l.* Serjeant Major *per diem*, 1*l.* Comptroller General of the Victuals, *per diem*, 10*s.* Four Commissaries of Victuals, whereof three at 6*s.* *per diem*, and the fourth at 8*s.* *per diem*. Twelve Colonels, each at 10*s.* *per diem*. A Provost Marshal for Loughfoyle, another for Ballyshannon, each at 4*s.* *per diem*.

*Summa per Annum, 4453*l.**

The pay of 300 Horse, divided into six Bands, each Band consisting of 50, *viz.* the Captain 4*s.* *per diem*; Lieutenant, 2*s.* 6*d.* *per diem*; Cornet, 2*s.* *per diem*; and 50 Horsemen at 1*s.* 6*d.* *per diem* a-piece. The Pay of 200 Horse, divided into four Bands, each Band consisting of 50, *viz.* Captain, 4*s.* *per diem*; Lieutenant, 2*s.* 6*d.* *per diem*; Cornet, 2*s.* *per diem*; and 50 Horsemen at 1*s.* 3*d.* a-piece *per diem*. The Pay of 700 Horse, divided into 14 Bands, each Band consisting of 50, *viz.* Captain, 4*s.* *per diem*; Lieutenant, 2*s.* 6*d.* *per diem*;

diem; Cornet, 2*s.* *per diem*; 50 Horsemen at 1*s.* a-piece *per diem*.

Summa per Annum, 29273*l.*

The Pay of 12000 Footmen, divided into 120 Bands, each Band consisting of 100 Heads, *viz.* Captain, 4*s.* *per diem*; Lieutenant, 2*s.* *per diem*; Ensign, 1*s.* 6*d.* *per diem*, two Serjeants, a Drum, and a Surgeon, at 1*s.* a-piece *per diem*; and 94 Soldiers, and 6 dead Pays, at 8*d.* a-piece *per diem*.

Summa per Annum, 171185*l.*

Extraordinaries, *viz.* for sending of Letters, hiring of Barks, for passage of Packets, for Gifts and Rewards, for Espys from abroad or at home, Carriage of Treasure, Victual, or Munition, and the like, &c. for a whole Year, 4000*l.*

Summa totalis per Annum, 208911*l.*

The Lord Mountjoy hastened away from Court, did not stay for the Lords signing of the above-mentioned second Establishment, as a thing of ordinary Course continued for many Years, with little or no Alteration. And being now in this Journey towards *Ireland*, the 10th of *February* he wrote to Master Secretary from *Daintry*, intreating him, that whereas her Majesty, notwithstanding the contrary Opinion of all admitted to that Consultation, had reduced the Army to 12000 Foot, and that he found by Letters from the Council and other Commanders in *Ireland*, a general concurring in Opinion, that these Forces were not sufficient (especially since the Plantation of *Loughfoyle* and *Ballyshannon* Garrisons were presently to be made, and that *Tyrone* was now Master of the Field, having led his Forces in Person as far as *Munster*;) he would move her Majesty to give him Power, to retain 1 or 2000 in List, of those *English*, which otherwise he was to cast.

The above-mentioned second Establishment, or List of divers Officers and Servitors, not contained in the former Establishment, which List was signed by the Lords the 11th of February, the End of the Year, 1599.

THE Lord Deputy's ordinary Entertainment *per mensem*, 100*l.* *per annum*, 1300*l.* to him for a Band of Horsemen in his Family, 4*l.* 4*s.* *per diem*; to him for 50 Footmen in his Family, 8*d.* a Man *per diem*; the Treasurer at War *per diem*, 1*l.* 15*s.* the Marshal at 5*s.* 9*d.* *per diem*; the Master of the Ordnance *per diem*, 1*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* Note, that the above-named, as also the chief Governors of Provinces under-named, had besides in the Army the Command of a Band of Foot, or Horse, or both. Divers Ministers of the Ordnance *per diem*, 1*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* Muster-master, 2*s.* 8*d.* *per diem*.

Summa per Annum, 5307*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.*

The Lord President *per annum* 133*l.* his Diet at 10*l.* a Week, and so *per annum*, 520*l.* His Guard of Horse and Foot at 1*l.* 10*s.* 7*s.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *per diem*. Chief Justice *per annum*, 100*l.* Second Justice 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Queen's Attorney, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Clerk of the Council, 20*l.* Provost Marshal, 255*l.* 10*s.*

Summa per Annum, 1667*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

Governor of Connaught *per diem*, 10*s.* for Increase *per annum*, 100*l.* Chief Justice *per annum*, 100*l.* for his Diet 40*l.* Clerk of the Council, 20*l.* for his Diet, 20*l.* Provost Marshal, 102*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, besides 12 Horse out of the Army.

Summa per Annum, 565*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

Governor at Loughfoyle *per diem*, 4*s.* 4*d.* besides his Entertainment as a Co-

Officers General.

Munster.

Connaught.

Ulster.

lonel.

lonel. Governor of *Carrickfergus* and *Dundalk* no Entertainment, but as Colonels of the Army.

Summa per Annum, 60 l. 16 s. 8 d.

Governor of the *Queen's-County*, at 6 s. *Leinster* 8 d. *per diem*. Provost Marshal of the Army *per diem*, 4 s. 3 d. Provost Marshal of *Leinster*, 5 s. 7 d. *per diem*. And to both Provosts, Horses to be assigned out of the Army, at the Lord Deputy's Discretion.

Summa per Annum, 301 l. 2 s. 7 d.

Warders in divers Provinces, 3031 l. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. Pensioners 44, at 4 l. 19 s. 2 d. *per diem*. Almsmen 14, at 6 d. *Irish* a-piece *per diem*. Commissaries of Musters 20, at 6 s. 8 d. a-piece *per diem*.

Summa per Annum, 3122 l. 5 s. 6 d.

Summa totalis per Annum, 14055 l. 4 s. 8 d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

The same Day this List was signed, being the 11th of *February*, the Lords by their Letters to the Lord Deputy (being yet in *England*, but newly gone from *London*, and in his Way towards *Ireland*,) appointed that the Ships of *Bristol*, which had transported 1200 Foot from thence to *Dublin*, should there be stayed, to the End they might transport 1000 Men, which were to be sent from *Dublin*, to meet with 3000 more sent out of *England*, out of which the Garrison of *Carrickfergus* was to be strengthened, and a new Garrison planted at *Loughfoyle*.

The Lord Mountjoy lying at *Westchester* for a Passage into *Ireland*, and there receiving Notice, that the imprisoned Earl of *Essex* had signed a Submission to the Queen, whereupon her Majesty began to be inclined to shew him Mercy, directed his Letters thence the 18th of *February* to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, therein avowing, that as his Love made him interested in that noble Earl's Fortunes, so he would thankfully acknowledge from him such favour, as he should be pleased to shew that distressed Earl, withal protesting,

testing, that he would always be a free Man, and Slave to no Man's Humour; but as he in this *Irish* Imployment expected all favourable Seconds from him (according to his noble Promise, whereupon his Hopes chiefly relied,) so he would ever be honest and thankful towards him in all Occasions. And upon these Terms all exchange of good Offices passed between this Lord Deputy and Master Secretary, till the fatal Death of that noble Earl of *Essex* hereafter to be mentioned, and the Lord Deputy's Participation of that Ruin, made him change his Stile, and never to cease, till he had confirmed a near Friendship between himself and the Secretary, at least as intire, as Greatness admits, as hereafter shall be shewed.

The 26th of *February*, the Lord Deputy landed in *Ireland*, and there received the Sword, and within few Days, by Warrant out of *England*, he granted her Majesty's Letters Patents to Sir *George Carew*, to be Lord President of *Munster*, which Place had lain void some few Months, from the Death of Sir *Thomas Norris*. The 27th he received Advertisement from the Earl of *Ormond*, General of the *English* Forces till his coming over, that *Tyrone* was in the West Part of *Munster*, having about him not only his own Forces, but those of the Rebels of that Province, which were so great, as he had not hitherto Power to oppose them: But now having gathered all the Queen's Forces he could make, purposed the next Morning to set forwards towards him. The 5th of *March* his Lordship received Advertisement from other Parts, that *Tyrone* could not escape in his Return to the North, but either over the River *Shannon*, which Passage the Earls of *Thomond* and *Clanrickard* might easily stop, or by the Westward Borders of the Pale, where if his Lordship would draw his Forces to *Athboy*, *Mullingar*, *Ballymore*, and *Atblone*, it was not

A new Lord
President of
Munster.

not possible for him to escape them. That *Tyrone* had thus engaged himself, presuming on the Corruption of the State, and little expecting his Lordship's so sudden coming over, so as if his Lordship forgave him this Fault, he was not like to catch him again in the like, neither could any thing but want of Intelligence, make his Lordship fail in stopping the Return of *Tyrone*, and his Forces into the North. Advising his Lordship to be wary in crediting Intelligences, which were commonly false, and made of Purpose, and to expect, that besides the known Enemy, and a confused War, he should find a broken State, a dangerous Council, and false hearted Subjects. The 8th of *March* the Earl of *Ormond* sent Advertisment, that *Tyrone* purposed to pass the River *Shannon*. That he had written to the Earl of *Thomond* to draw towards him, that they might oppose his Passage, but that his Lordship could not perform his Order, by reason that the Mayor of *Limerick* would not afford him Carriage for his Victuals. That *Tyrone* in scattered Troops and a cowardly Manner, hastened his Return, and that present Day had marched 24 Miles, without any Stay. That Sir *Warham St. Leger*, and Sir *Henry Power*, joint Commissioners for governing of *Munster*, with the Forces under their Charge, had met near *Cork* with *Hugh Mac Gwire*, chief Lord of *Fermanagh* (in the North) and that in the Encounter Sir *Warham St. Leger*, and the said *Mac Gwire* were killed. That his Lordship had burned all the Towns where the Traitors might find Relief, and that they used the same Course towards her Majesty's Subjects. The same Day the Lord Deputy received further Advertisment from *Munster*, that *Tyrone* was compassed in by the Earl of *Ormond*, on the one Side, and the Earl of *Thomond* on the other, and by the Commissioners Forces on the third Side, (who ruled the Province after the Death of Sir *Thomas Norris*,
until

until a Lord President should be chosen, for he that was newly sent over, was yet at *Dublin*;) that the Mayor of *Limerick* had Commandment to lay Ships and Boats, to hinder his Passage by that Haven, as likewise the Mayor of *Galway* to interrupt his Passage by Sea, and the Earl of *Clanrickard*, to stop his Passage by Land through *Connaught*. So as howsoever he were 5000 strong and able Men, besides many of baler fort, yet he being far from any Second of *Ulster* Men, in whom the chief Strength of the Rebellion consisted, and no way able to return thither, his utter Confusion was confidently hoped. But these were only *Irish* Ostentations of Service, which seldom use to take Effect, and many times are not truly intended, as the Sequel will shew.

And least the Lord Deputy should expect faithful dealing of the *English Irish* Subject in the other Kind of Service, by supplying the Army of necessaries, the Nobility and Gentry of the very *English* Pale, the same Day exhibited a Petition to his Lordship, to prevent the Opinion of Disloyalty, upon Refusal of such Supplies, by pretending of Disability upon the great Spoils, which as well the Rebels, as the *English* Soldiers had made upon all the Inhabitants.

The Lord Deputy had written a former Letter to Master Secretary, in excuse of not reducing the Army from fourteen thousand Foot to twelve thousand, according to the new Establishment, as well because the same was to begin the first of *February* which his Lordship could not effect, since he arrived not in *Ireland* until the 26th of the same Month, as also because the Army was presently far divided, the greater Part thereof being with the Earl of *Ormond*, and for that, whensoever they returned, the discharged Companies must presently be reduced into some other, or else so many Men and Arms should be meerly lost, as the Lords Jus-

tices

tices had lately found by Experience, when determining to cast a Company of 150 being by Pole 100 of the oldest and best Soldiers, with Purpose next Day to deliver them to other Captains, upon the divulging thereof, only three of the whole Company with their Arms could be found, to be so transmitted.)

To this Letter formerly written, and perswading that the 2000 might still be continued in Pay, his Lordship received the following Answer from her Majesty, dated the 15th of *March*.

Elizabeth Regina.

ALthough we have upon your earnest Request (in whole Affection and Duty we do repose Trust and Confidence) yielded to the Continuance of 14000 Foot for some small Time, both because we conceive, that according to your Reasons, it will give good Assurance to the Plantation of *Loughfoyle*, and the Reduction of *Leinster*, and prevent the present Terror, which this proud Attempt of *Tyrone's* to pass over all the Kingdom, hath stricken into the Hearts of all our Subjects, and would increase, if we should presently have abated our Numbers: Yet must we let you know, that we do expect at your Hands, and do determine, that as soon as the present Brutes are passed, you shall diminish the same by little and little hereafter, according to our first Determination: For we have had too good Proof of that Government, as not to know and discern, that all the Mischiefs of our Service, have grown most by lack of Discretion and Order, by vain Journies, whilst better Opportunities have been lost, by undiscreeit Carriages of all secret Purposes, by placing Captains of small Merit or Experience, and which is above all, by nourishing the *Irish*, who are Snakes in our Bosoms, whilst we hold them, and when they are out,
do

do convert upon ourselves, the Experience and Strength they have gotten by our making them to be Soldiers. And therefore you shall understand now, that although we have been content to grace some such as are of noble Houses, and such others as have drawn Blood on the Rebels, with charge of Companies, yet we find it now grown to a common Opinion, that it is as good to be a Rebel as a Subject: For Rebels find and feel it, that they shall be hired (even with whole Companies, in our Pay) only to forbear doing harm, and not for having done any such Service, as may make them irreconcilable. And further we see, that others that are in Pay in their own Country, are so far from doing Service on their Neighbours, that are out, as when they tarry in for a shew, they are the chiefest Means under hand, to help the Rebels with such Powder and Munition, as (to our no small charge) we put into their Hands, to be used against them. In this Point therefore, we command you henceforth to be considerate, and not to be induced to put such in Pay, as spend our Treasure only to their own Advantage, upon this Supposition or brag of theirs, that they must run to the Enemies if they be not entertained: For when we consider the Effects that are derived from our Charges, to have so many Foot and Horse of the *Irish* entertained, only to save their own Cows and Countries, we are of opinion, so they went not with our Arms to the Rebels, that it were better Service for us, to save our Treasure, than to pay for their Bodies, seeing they that live by the War better than they should do in Peace, intend nothing less than our Service. And therefore we command you, not only to raise no more, when these shall be decayed, but to keep them unsupplied that are already, and as they waste to cast their Bands: For we can never allow of this Entertainment of them. Whilst you are forced to keep the 2000 Men for our

V o L. I. I Service,

Service, you may keep the Captains uncass'd, but not give any Warrant to them to supply their Companies with any more *Irish*. We do also require you, that you do seek by all means possible, where the *Irish* are entertained, to use their Service as far from their own Countries as may be; wherein we pray you especially to take care in the Province of *Connaught*, where there are so many *Irish* Bands together, and rather to draw some of them to serve elsewhere, and send *English* in their stead. This shall serve for the Present, to answer your dispatch, wherein we do write to you, (whom we know to love our Commandments) more directly in this Point of our desire to have our Charge abated, than we do to you and the Council together, because we would have them apprehend, (seeing you think such an Opinion would be good,) that our Army shall not be so soon abated, as we hope you will; wherein notwithstanding we do refer Things to your Discretion, whom we will trust with the Charge of 2000 Men, seeing we have committed to you our whole Kingdom, &c.

His Lordship in a second dispatch to Master Secretary, had written, that *Tyrone* having passed through the Pale into *Munster* with some 1500 Horse and Foot, of such sort as so many of the Queen's worst Men were able to encounter them, was now in *Munster* with an Army of 4000 in Reputation, and was there attended by the Queen's Army of 3000 Foot, and 300 Horse, commanded by the Earl of *Ormond*; so as only the dregs of the Queen's Army were now near him; out of which notwithstanding, he hoped to be able to draw 1500 Foot, and 300 Horse, and therewith to make head against *Tyrone* at his Return: But in Regard the Plantation of *Loughfoyle* and *Ballisbannon* were presently commanded him, whether Sir *Henry Dockwra* was to ship 3000 out of *England*, and another 1000 were to be shipped from *Dublin*: These 1000 being Part of the Men he was

to draw against *Tyrone*, he durst not lead them far from the Sea, and so might perhaps be forced to lose good Occasion of Service, whereas if these Things had been left to his Discretion, he would have deferred the Plantation of *Ballishannon* to a Time of more Safety, and with these 1000 Men and their Munition to be sent thither, would now attend *Tyrone* in his Passage with so great Advantage, as he was not likely to find hereafter, and if he escaped, would presently have put himself in the head of the Earl of *Ormond's* Troops, to prosecute him into the *North*, and would further have advised Sir *Henry Dockwra* in his Passage from *Chester* to *Loughfoyle*, to descend at *Carrickfergus*, and thence to take 500 old Soldiers, leaving so many new in their room.

To this Dispatch his Lordship received the Queen's gracious Answer, by a Letter dated the 16th of this Month, wherein allowing his Beginnings, and approving his Reasons: The forbearing presently to plant *Ballishannon*, and the ordering of *Loughfoyle* Plantation, and the disposing of Garrisons aptly (for the Defence of such as in that Case offered to return to due Obedience,) were all freely left to his Lordship's Discretion, with Promise to make good Construction of his Actions, being confident that they had no other Object, but loyal Service.

The Lord Deputy having drawn as many together as he could about *Mullingar*, to lye for *Tyrone* in his return out of *Munster*, received Advertisement the 15th of this present, that *Tyrone* hearing of his Preparations to meet him, had left 1000 *Connaught* Rogues to assist *Desmond*, and some 800 Men with *Richard Butler*, and having made Captain *Tirrel*, chief Commander of all the *Leinster* Rebels, was stoln out of *Munster* with 600 in his Company, and had passed the *Enney*, and so escaped into the *North*.

Whereupon the Lord Deputy the same Day writ to the Earl of *Ormond*, to send back from *Munster*,

the Forces he had drawn thither out of *Leinster*, and withal sent him her Majesty's Letters, importing Thanks for the Service he had done, and her Desire that he would still hold the Place of Lieutenant of the Army. In the Acceptance whereof, the Lord Deputy professed, that he would esteem himself much honoured, and would be ready, after putting off the Person which now was imposed on him, with much Contentment to be commanded by his Lordship.

The same Time the Lord Deputy advertised Master Secretary, that his Intelligence had been so bad (not only in false Reports of *Tyrone's* Purposes, but also in the Relation of the Forces he had with him to be far greater than indeed they were, by which Intelligence of False-hearted Subjects to discourage the Queen's Forces, the Rebels used to prevail more than by fighting, and now hoped to discourage him at his first coming, from any present Attempt against *Tyrone's* Return, as in one and the same Day he first heard together of *Tyrone's* looking back out of *Munster*, coming into *Leinster*, and passing over the *Enney*, and the next Day being assured of his Escape, he then received the first Intelligence (the former Letters of the 8th of *March* being not till then delivered) that ever came to his Hands from the Earl of *Ormond* concerning *Tyrone*, who in his return had gone further in three Days, than at his setting forth in 13, having in one Day marched 27 Miles, so speedily, as he could not overtake any of his Troops with the Queen's Forces, though he marched after him twenty Miles in four Hours; adding his Purpose to make present Head towards the *North*, without which Diversion of the Rebels, the Garrison to be planted at *Loughfoyle* was like to run a dangerous Fortune. And withal sending some of *Tyrone's* Mandates, by which he summoned the Subjects of *Munster* to appear before him, and to join with him,

him, of which I have thought good, for the strangeness of the Form, to insert this one following.

O Neal commendeth him unto you *Morris Fitz Thomas*, *o Neal* requesteth you in God's name to take Part with him, and fight for your Conscience and Right; and in so doing, *o Neal* will spend to see you righted in all your Affairs, and will help you: And if you come not at *o Neal* betwixt this and To-morrow at twelve of the Clock, and take his Part, *o Neal* is not beholding to you, and will do to the uttermost of his Power to overthrow you, if you come not to him at furthest by Saturday Noon. From *Knock Dumayne* in *Galrie*, the 4th of February, 1599.

o Neal requesteth you to come speak with him, and doth give you his Word that you shall receive no harm, neither in coming nor going from him, whether you be a friend or not, and bring with you to *o Neal* *Gerat Fitz-gerald*.

Subscribed o Neal.

The 7th of *March* the Lord Deputy was advertised, that *Tyrone* returned to *Dungannon* his House the 15th Day, and brought with him out of *Munster* four Pledges of *Desmond's* Faith unto him. That the Earl of *Clanrickard* had sworn, so soon as the Lord of *Dunkellin* his eldest Son returned out of *England*, to take no longer Day than *May* next, to join with *Tyrone*, and enter into Action, (so the *Irish* term Rebellion :) And that *Tyrone* had called the Lords of the *North* together, to consult about the Opposition to be made against the intended Plantation of the *English* Garrisons at *Loughfoyle*.

The 20th of *March* Master Secretary wrote to the Lord Deputy, that the Earl of *Essex*, hitherto restrained in the Lord Keeper's House, had found the Grace with her Majesty, to be sent to his own House in *London*, yet with a Keeper; for Sir

Richard Barkley, had the guard of him, with the Keys of the Water-gate and Street-door, and the Earl had the freedom of the whole House, with a dozen Servants to attend him, who might freely go in and out at Pleasure, and the Countess of *Essex* had liberty to come thither to him. And the Lord Deputy still continued frequently to solicit the Secretaries favour to this noble Earl, many Times enlarging himself so far, as to justify the Earl's faithful Endeavours in the main Point of the late *Irish* Service, about which he was most questioned. Insomuch as seeing the Earl's Actions in *Ireland* to be narrowly sifted, he wrote not long after to the Secretary, expressly avowing; That if the Earl of *Essex* had brought with him a far greater Army, the State of the year being as then it was, and he coming at that Time of the Year when he did, yet during his abode there, (which was from *March* to *September*;) there could no other Consequence have justly been expected in that so short Time; but that the Rebels moved with the Countenance and Terror of the Army, should generally (or for the most Part) have sought her Majesty's Mercy, and making their Submission, have been received upon Pledges to continue Subjects, or else to have sought to have ruined them by planting strong Garrisons, which in most Places must have been done by an Army, and they being in several Places, and many Circumstances besides required thereunto, the Effecting thereof would have taken up as much Time as he spent here. And though the Terror of the Army did not work the first Effect, being in the Choice of the Enemy, until by the second Course they might be constrained, that the fault was in their Disposition, and not in the Earl's Endeavours or Power. And though the Garrisons were not accordingly planted, that as well the shortness of the Time, as the Councils to which the Earl was tied at that Time, might justly clear him of that Default.

CHAP. II.

Of the Lord Deputy's particular Proceedings in the Prosecution of the Rebels in the Year 1600.

THE 24th of *March*, being the last Day of the former Year, the Lord Deputy signed the following List of the Army, to be a Direction to the Treasurer at Wars, for the Payment thereof, from the 1st of *April*, in the Year 1600, so forward.

General Officers for the Army.

The Earl of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant of the Army, *per diem*, 3*l*.

Sir *Oliver Lambert*, Serjeant Major, *per diem*, 1*l*.

George Beverly, Comptroller of the Victuals, *per diem*, 10*s*.

Five Commissaries of the Victuals, whereof one *per diem*, 8*s*. the rest 6*s*. a-piece.

Twelve Colonels at 10*s*. a-piece *per diem*.

Earl of *Thomond*.

Lord *Audley*.

Lord *Dunkellin*.

Sir *Henry Dockwra*.

Sir *Henry Poore*.

Sir *Charles Percy*.

Sir *Matthew Morgan*.

Sir *Christop. St. Lawrence*.

Sir *Charles Wilmot*.

Sir *John Bolles*.

Sir *Arthur Savage*.

Sir *Richard Moryson*.

A Provost Marshal of *Ballyshannon*, and another of *Loughfoyle*, each at 4*s*. *per diem*.

Companies of Horse.

The Lord Deputy 100, at 1*s*. 6*d*. a-piece *per diem*. The Earl of *Ormond* 50, at 1*s*. The Earl

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of *Southampton* 100, half at 1 s. 6 d. and half 1 s. 3 d. The *Earl of Kildare* 50, at 1 s. The *Earl of Clanrickard* 50, at 1 s. The *Lord of Dunfany* 50, at 1 s. The *Lord President of Munster* 50, at 1 s. 6 d. *Sir Garret Moore* 25, at 1 s. *Sir Christopher St. Laurence* 25, at 1 s.

The Lord <i>Dunkellin</i>	25	} all 1 s. per diem.
Sir <i>Henry Harington</i>	26	
Sir <i>William Warren</i>	25	
Sir <i>Samuel Bagnol</i>	50	
Sir <i>Edward Herbert</i>	12	
Sir <i>Oliver Lambert</i>	25	
Captain <i>Wayman</i> , Provost	} 12	
Marshal of <i>Connaught</i>		
Captain <i>Richard Greame</i>	50	
Captain <i>Thomas Giffard</i>	25	
Captain <i>Fleming</i>	25	
Captain <i>Taffe</i>	25	

Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal, 50, whereof 20 at 1 s. 6 d. and 30 at 1 s. per diem.

Capt. Thomas White 50 } at 1 s. 3 d. per diem.
Sir Anthony Cooke 50 }

Sir Henry Davers 100, at 1 s. 6 d. *Sir Henry Dockwra* 50, half at 1 s. 6 d. half at 1 s. *Sir Grif. Markam* 100, half at 1 s. 3 d. half 1 s.

Total of Horse 1200.

Companies of Foot.

To be sent from *Dublin* to *Loughfoyle* in *Ulster*.

<i>Sir Henry Dockwra, Governor of Loughfoyle, and Colonel of the Army.</i>	200
<i>Sir Matthew Morgan, Colonel</i>	150
<i>Sir John Chamberlain</i>	150
<i>Capt. Errington</i>	100
<i>Capt. Heath</i>	150
<i>Capt. Badby</i>	150
<i>Capt. Lister</i>	100
To	

To be sent out of *England* to the same Place.

Sir John Bolles,	}	150	Capt. Masterfon	100
one of the Co-			Capt. Stafford	100
lonels of the Ar-			Capt. Atkinson	100
my			Capt. Hales	100
Capt. Vaughan	150		Capt. Alford	100
Capt. Thomas Coche	100		Capt. Pinner	100
Capt. Dutton	100		Capt. Orrel	150
Capt. Ellis Flud	150		Capt. Sidney	100
Capt. Ralph Bingley	150		Capt. Windsor	100
Capt. Basset	100		Capt. Sidley	100
Capt. Oram	100		Capt. Diggs	100
Capt. Lionel Guest	150		Capt. Brooke	100
Capt. Leigh	100		Capt. Rand	100
Capt. H. Clare	150		Capt. Plunket	100
Sir John Pooley	150			

Total of *Loughfoyle* Garrison divided into three Regiments under the Governor, Sir Henry Dockwra, and the two Colonels above-named, Sir Matthew Morgan, and Sir John Bolles, 4000.

Carrickfergus Garrison. Foot.

Sir Arthur Chiche-	}	200	Capt. Egerton	100
ster, Governor			Capt. Norton	100
Sir Fulk Conway	150			Foot 700
Capt. Laurence Es-	}	150		
mond				

Foot at the *Newry*.

Sir Samuel Bagnol	200	At Carlingford, Capt.	
Capt. Blayne	150	Ferdinando Freckelton	100
			Foot 450

Foot

Foot in the Province of *Connaught*.

Sir <i>Arthur Savage</i> , } Governor	200	Sir <i>Thomas Burgh</i> , } his younger Son	150
The Earl of <i>Thomond</i>	200	Sir <i>Robert Lovel</i>	150
The Earl of <i>Glan-</i> } <i>rickard</i>	100	Sir <i>Tibot Dillon</i>	100
The Lord <i>Dun-</i> } <i>kellin</i> , the Earl's	200	Capt. <i>Thomas Bourgh</i>	100
eldest Son		Capt. <i>Tibot ne Long</i>	100
		Capt. <i>Hugh Mostian</i>	100
		Foot	1400.

Foot in the Province of *Munster*.

Sir <i>George Carew</i> , } Lord President	200	Sir <i>Rich. Masterfon</i>	100
The Lord <i>Audley</i>	200	Capt. <i>Roger Harvy</i>	150
Sir <i>Henry Poore</i>	200	Capt. <i>Thomas Spencer</i>	150
Sir <i>Charles Wilmot</i>	150	Capt. <i>Flower</i>	100
Sir <i>George Cary</i> , } Treasurer at War	100	Capt. <i>Sheffield</i>	100
Sir <i>Richard Percy</i>	150	Capt. <i>George Kingsmel</i>	100
Sir <i>Francis Barkely</i>	100	Capt. <i>Garret Dillon</i>	100
Sir <i>Edw. Fitz-garret</i>	100	Capt. <i>Hugh ó Reilly</i>	100
Sir <i>John Barkely</i>	200	Capt. <i>William Poore</i>	100
Sir <i>Gerald Harvy</i>	150	Capt. <i>Saxy</i>	100
Sir <i>John Dowdal</i>	100	Capt. <i>Bostock</i>	100
		Capt. <i>George Blount</i>	100
		Foot	2950.

Foot in the Province of *Leinster*.

The Lord Depu- } ty's Guard	200	Sir <i>Rich. Wingfield</i>	150
The E. of <i>South-</i> } <i>ampton</i>	200	Sir <i>Christ. St. Laurence</i>	200
The Earl of <i>Ormond</i>	200	Sir <i>Charles Percy</i>	200
The Earl of <i>Kildare</i>	150	Sir <i>Oliver Lambert</i>	200
The Lord of <i>Dunfany</i>	150	Sir <i>Richard Moryson</i>	200
The Lord <i>Deluin</i>	150	Sir <i>Thomas Wingfield</i>	150
Sir <i>George Boucher</i>	100	Sir <i>Henry Warren</i>	100
		Sir <i>Garret More</i>	100
		Sir <i>Francis Rushe</i>	150
		Sir	

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Sir Henry Follyot	150	Sir Henry Harrington	100
Sir William Warren	100	Capt. Tho. Williams	150
Sir Thomas Loftus	100	Capt. Roe	100
Sir Oliver St. John	150	Capt. Toby Caulfield	150
Sir Charles ô Carrol	100	Capt. Josias Bodley	150
Sir Henry Davers	200	Capt. Francis Shane	100
Sir James Fitzpeirse	150	Foot	4500.
Sir Francis Stafford	200		

The Total of the Foot 14000.

A List of such as the Lord Deputy could draw into the Field to prosecute Tyrone, all consisting of the Companies lying in Leinster, and those of the Newry and Carlingford.

Horse. The Lord Deputy, 100. Sir Henry Davers, 100. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 50. The Lord Dunsany, 50. Sir Garret More, 25. Horse 325.

Foot. The Lord Deputy, 200. The Earl of Southampton, 200. Sir Francis Stafford, 200. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 200. Sir Richard Meryson, 200. Sir Henry Davers, 200. Sir Charles Percy, 200. Sir Oliver Lambert, 200. Sir William Warren, 100. Sir Oliver St. John, 150. Sir Henry Follyot, 150. The Lord of Dunsany, 150. Sir Garret More, 100. Sir Thomas Wingfeild, 150. Capt. Edward Blanye, 150. Capt. Josias Bodley, 150. Capt. Ferdinand Freckelton, 100. Capt. Toby Caulfield, 150. Capt. Francis Roe, 100. Capt. Thomas Williams, 150.

Foot 3200

Out of these taken to guard Places till the Return of the Army } Foot. Horse.

Dead Pays allowed in each hundred of Foot 9, and in each 50 } 288 26

Horse 4 - - - - - } Total 1098 46

Deduct this 1098 out of the Foot, and 46 out of the Horse, and so remains for the Lord Deputy's Army } Foot. Horse.

in Field - - - - - } 2102 279

Out

Out of this a further Allowance (though uncertain) must be deducted for sick and deficient Men not mentioned formerly.

Observe that many Gunners, Cannoneers, Armourers, and Clerks of the Ordnance, some at 4 s. some at 2 s. *per diem*, and an Engineer at 10 s. *per diem*. that some sixteen Surgeons, the chief at 5 l. the other dispersed in Provinces and Garrisons at 30 or 40 s. a piece the Week, and that the Lord Deputy's Doctor of Physick at 5 l. a Week, and his chief Chaplain at the same Rate, and some ten other Preachers dispersed, at 30 or 40 s. the Week; each are all paid by the defalcation of one Pay in each Company of Foot, and likewise of certain Suits of Apparel due to the same Companies: And that the Commissaries of the Musters (raised from five to twenty) at 3 s. 4 d. a piece *per diem*, are pay'd out of the Checquers which themselves raise, and one of them following the Army in Field in each Province, the rest are distributed to be resident in particular Garrisons.

Having made Distribution of the Forces for the present, it remains I should descend to the brief Narration of the Lord Deputy's particular Councils and Actions against the Rebels. About the Beginning of *April*, it was determined in Council by the Lord Deputy and the general Assent of the Counsellors, that the Islander *Scots* should be hired to serve against *James Mac Surley*: That *Agnus*, pretending Right to his Country, was the fittest for that Purpose; and upon his refusal, *Mac Alaine* was thought fittest to be entertained for this Service: That the Number of *Scots* should be 1500 or 2000 at most: That they should not land till the End of *August*, and remain in Pay as Occasion should serve, their Pay being to each Man a Cow for a Month, or, for the Default of Cattle, 6 d. by the Day; and that they should land between the *Bann* and *Oldensfleet*, except they thought some other Place fitter.

Two

Two Inhabitants of *Carrickfergus* were appointed to treat with these *Scots*, and they were to have the Lord Deputy's Letters to the Earl of *Argyle*, and to the Queen's Agent in *Scotland*, for the furtherance of this Business; but this Council took no Effect, by Reason the Course was disliked in *England*. In the same Council it was propounded, how the Army should be employed till the Lord Deputy's going into the Field, which in all probability could not be for some two Months after: And it was resolved to prosecute the Rebels at one Instant both on the Borders in the North and in *Leinster*: For the North Borders, 650 Foot and 100 Horse were to lie in Garrison in *Dundalk*; 700 Foot and 50 Horse at *Ardee*; 400 Foot and 50 Horse at *Kells*; 1000 Foot and 50 Horse at the *Newry*; and 100 Foot at *Carlingford*. If *Tyrone* drew not to a Head, it was concluded these Garrisons were to infest the *Fewes*, *Ferny*, & *Hanlon's* Country, *Mac Gennis* his Country, and other Parts of *Monaghan*, and the *Cavan*. If *Tyrone* drew to a Head, then it was concluded his own Troops were like to spoil these Countries, and our Men sent to *Loughfoyle* should plant themselves with more Ease, and shortly be able to spoil both *Tyrone* and & *Donnel's* Country. For *Leinster*, 1000 Foot and 100 Horse were to draw into *Ophalia*, to build up the *Togher*, to victual the Fort of *Philipstown*, and to spoil the *Conners*, *Macgoghigans*, & *Moloyes*, and *Mac Cogh-lins*: This done, it was concluded these Forces should pass into *Leax* there to attend Direction, or if that Passage were difficult, then to return the Way they went, and by the Way to send for further Direction: And to further the last Prosecution, the & *Carrols* were commanded at the same Time to invade the & *Moloyes*, and the Lord of *Delvin*, and Sir *Francis Shane* were to meet and join with the Lord *Dunkellin* in *Mac Coghlin's* Country, and there to invade the neighbour Rebels.

The

The third of *April*, the Lord Deputy advertised Master Secretary, that the Queen had few Subjects in *Ireland* of any Sort who had not either some Kind of Intelligence with *Tyrone*, or had not framed their Hearts that Way, whereof the whole Pale made sufficient Overture, by a Petition lately delivered, and by their Contestation at the Council Table. That the old Earl of *Clanrickard*, at *Tyrone's* going into *Munster*, had taken Day with him till *May* next to declare himself on that Party; but that the Lord of *Dunkellin*, his eldest Son, hated by his younger Brother, whom the Father esteemed much above him, gave him great Confidence of his firm Allegiance, who suspecting the Father's Disposition that Way, had taken Occasion by repairing to *Dublin*, and after going for *England*, to put himself as a Gage and Bridle to his Father's Proceedings; concluding, that he, the Lord Deputy, had taken Order for securing the Castle of *Athlone*, but that all his Hope of keeping the Province of *Connaught* in Obedience was in the Lord of *Dunkellin's* Honesty. Neither was the Lord Deputy deceived in this worthy Lord, who as during his Father's Life, so from his Death (happening within few Months) to the End of the War, served the Queen as nobly, valiantly, and faithfully, as any Nobleman or Gentleman in the Army. The Lord Deputy explained the Danger of the *Irish* Commanders and Companies, yet for the Time shewed the Remedy to be more dangerous than the Disease, protesting that her Majesty could not take a more unprofitable Way to satisfy the *Irish* Suitors than by giving them Companies. His Lordship further advertised Master Secretary, that upon *Tyrone's* retiring out of *Munster* into the *North* in Manner of a fearful Flight, he, the Lord Deputy, had drawn from the Earl of *Ormond* such Companies as were not appointed for *Munster*, and upon their arrival to *Athy*, had sent Sir *Richard Moryson* to take Possession of
the

the Government of *Leax*, and Sir *Oliver Lambert* to lead and bring back the Forces sent with Victuals to relieve the Fort called *Maryborough*, (of Queen *Mary*) situate in *Leax*, (otherwise called the Queen's County), which Fort being before in extream Distress, now he had supplied for three Months. That he had employed *Bermingham* (who had about that Time submitted himself to the Queen's Mercy) to put in some Cows into the Fort of *Ophaly*. That he purposed to prosecute the Rebels in *Leinster* with 1000 Foot and 100 Horse, and to lodge the rest in Garrisons upon the North, so as on the sudden he might divert *Tyrone* from resisting our present Plantation at *Loughfoyle*. That he would presently send 1000 old Soldiers from *Dublin* to *Loughfoyle*, and likewise with them such as were to lie in Garrison at *Ballishannon* under the Command of Sir *Matthew Morgan*, but that for some Difficulties they could not yet be settled there, yet lying at *Loughfoyle*, in the mean Time, might do Service, and always be ready to be sent thither. That *Tyrone's* Confederates were discouraged at his fearful Retreat into the North, which could not have been greater if he had been broken with an Army; for after an unreasonable Day's March, hearing of the Lord Deputy's drawing towards him, within one Hour of his sitting down, he did presently rise again at seven o' Clock in the Night, and being assaulted by some of our scattered Bands, still marched, leaving to the Sword as many of his Men as were engaged, and leaving or losing all his Carriages, so as now almost every Day the Heads of some Rebels or others were sent him; and many Services were of late done, as the Recovery of a Prey by the Garrison at the *Naas*, with the killing of many Rebels, and the Defeat of 140 Rebels by Sir *Francis Shane*, whereof 45 were killed, and of them some 14 with his own Hand: And the Rebels of *Leinster* daily made Means to be received to Mercy. Only the Towns
were

were the Stores of the Rebels, and stood so saucily upon their Privileges, as a sharp Rod and strong Hand were requisite to amend them; for which Cause his Lordship advised, that the Castle of *Limrick* might be repaired to bridle that Town, which seemed of more Importance than any other City of that Kingdom whatsoever. That the despairing Rebels were by *Tyrone's* Cunning raised to some Hopes by two Ships lately come into the North out of *Spain*, which brought the Rebels some Munition, and either Assurance of great and present Succours, or *Tyrone* at least so used their coming to his Purpose, as the Rebels believed such Assurance was given. Besides, many Priests came in those Ships, of which one termed himself the Pope's Legate, and Leger Ambassador for the King of *Spain*, and Archbishop of *Dublin*, giving out that he was content to suffer Death if he preached not in *Dublin* before *Michaelmas*-day: Whereupon the Rebels began to avow themselves the King of *Spain's* Subjects; and only the Expectation of *Loughfoyle* Garrison, together with the doubt of these Succours, kept the very Pale from the Boldness to profess the same. Lastly, his Lordship vehemently complained that her Majesty by absolute Command disposed of Charges in that Kingdom, so as he could neither pleasure his own Friends, nor reward her Majesty's best Servants; yea, that having already given the Government of *Leax* to Sir *Richard Moryson*, (a Friend whom he confessed especially to love, and whom he would undertake to be as worthy in his Profession, as any of his Time, or any the Queen had in that Kingdom), now by the Lords Letters signifying her Majesty's Pleasure, he was forced to his Friend's and his own Disgrace, to confer the Place on another; and in conclusion, besought her Majesty, in such Recommendations to leave them somewhat to his Choice,

Choice, promising to execute them, or else to yield great Reason to the contrary.

The sixth of *April* the Lord Deputy advertised Master Secretary, that the Earl of *Ormond* was gone from *Dublin* to his Country, having made great Compliments of Affection to her Majesty's Service; yet it was apparent that either he was grown weaker in Judgment, or worse affected to the Queen's Service than was imagined in *England*, affirming of certainty, that in the last Cessation he had thrice at least spoken very long with *Tyrone*, and at his last being in *Munster* had once heard from him: And in general, that the Subjects were no better Servants to her Majesty than the Rebels, with whom they daily practised, and would give no Assistance with Bodies or Goods to her Majesty's Service; yea, would (no doubt) quit their Allegiance whensoever they might do it with Safety. That every Rogue asked a Company, and if he had one, then sought a Regiment, but that (God blessing her Majesty's Army) he hoped shortly to give Law to their irregular Humours.

The Province of *Munster* (as I formerly said) was much confirmed in Rebellion by the Earl of *Tyrone's* last Journey into those Parts, where he strengthened *James Fitz-thomas*, (who by the Northern Rebels sent thither from *Tyrone*, was exalted to be Earl of *Desmond* in the Year 1598, and was, by a Nick-name called the *Suggon Earl*), he combined with *Florence Mac Carty*, (called by the *Irish Mac Carty More*, a Name greatly followed there) and in like Sort with most of the great Men of those Parts, encouraging those whom he found willing to persist, taking Pledges of those he suspected to be wavering, and burning, and spoiling those few who did absolutely refuse to join with him, as the Lord *Barry* with some others. And at this Time another

Affairs of
Munster.

Accident seeming of great Consequence did much erect the Hearts of the Rebels and dismay the Subjects of those Parts, which I will briefly set down. Sir *George Carew* having newly received Letters Patents to be Lord President of *Munster*, and resolving presently to repair to his Charge, departed from *Dublin* on his Journey thitherward the 7th of *April*, and upon the 9th came to *Kilkenny* with the Earl of *Thomond* in his Company, and 100 Horse to attend him, where the Earl of *Ormond* told them he had appointed to parley with some Rebels of those Parts, whereof *Ony Mac Rory* was the chief, and desired them to accompany him. The 10th of *April* they rode out of *Kilkenny* with some 20 Horse of the Earl of *Ormond*'s Followers, and some few others mounted upon Hacknies, his Lordship refusing to have the Lord President's Horse to guard him: So they rode eight long Miles to the Place of meeting; and the Earl of *Ormond* left his Company of 200 Foot two Mile short of that Place. The Rebel *Ony* came out of the Woods with 500 Men well armed, and leaving his Shot and the Gross of his Troop some Cavaliers Shot distant from the Earl, came up to him with some choice Pikes. After an Hour spent and nothing concluded, the Lord President moved the Earl to return, but he would first speak with the Jesuit *Archer*, and the Rebels calling him, his Lordship reproved *Archer* and called him Traitor. In the meanTime the Gross of the Rebels had crept over the Shrubs and compassed round the Earl and his Company, which the Lord President disliking, prayed the Earl to return; but as he turned about his Hackney the Rebels took him Prisoner, and *Ony Mac Rory* laid Hands on the Lord President, but the Earl of *Thomond* rushing upon him with his Horse made him leave his Hold, and they both escaped by the Swiftnes and Strength of their Horses from the Pushes of many Pikes,

Pikes, wherewith the Earl of *Thomond* was slightly hurt in the Back. This Treachery was said to be plotted by *Ony* and *Archer* and very few others, for if more had known it, many thought that the Earl had such Spies, and was so feared among the Rebels, as his Lordship would have had Notice thereof either for Fear or Love. But there wanted not others who thought the Earl was willingly surpris'd. Howsoever it were the Rebels did him no Hurt in his Person, only one of the Earl's Men was slain, five were hurt, and fourteen taken Prisoners. The Lord President with the 100 Horse attending him, and 600 Foot which he sent for out of *Munster* kept the unsettled Humours of those Parts from present Tumult, where the Earl's true Followers wanting their Head, and the ill-affected, now standing in no Awe of his Power, were all at Liberty. The Countess of *Ormond* was much afflicted with her Husband's Misfortune, and with Fear of her own and her Daughter's Estate. For divers pretended to be Heirs to the Earl; as Sir *Edward Butler* his Brother; and in respect his Blood was attainted, Sir *Walter Butler* the Earl's Nephew; and for other Reasons, the Viscount *Mountgarret*: And each of these was likely to seek to have the Earl's sole Daughter in their Hands; besides that these Controversies bred distracted Humours among the Gentlemen and others of those Parts; the Lord Deputy hearing hereof, presently dispatched Sir *George Boucher* to command in chief, and Sir *Christopher St. Laurence* to assist him in guarding the Countess, her Daughter, and the Earl's Houses, with the Forces appointed by the Lord Deputy for that Service, namely,

The Earl's Company of Foot, 200. The Foot Company of Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, 200. The Earl's Troop of Horse, 50. Horse of *St. Laurence*, 25. Sir *George Boucher's* Horse, 10.

Yet the Lord Deputy conceived the Earl's Surprise to be an Evil more specious than material, seeing no Reason why the Counsels of the War should stagger upon his well or ill doing: For whereas some were of Opinion that he was willingly taken and would declare himself for *Tyrone*, his Lordship resolved, that if he continued faithful, his Countries might easily be defended, if otherwise, as easily wasted; since after the Garrisons should be once planted at *Loughfoyle*, and those Parts on the Back of *Tyrone*, he should be able to spare Forces for any such Service. And whereas many thought the News would much amaze the Court of *England*, his Lordship on the contrary (since neither the Lord President nor himself deserved any Imputation for this Event, the Parley being contrived without the Lord President's Privy, and both contrived and executed without making himself acquainted therewith) conceived it would make the Army both better, and more carefully seconded out of *England*. And whereas it was thought that this Accident would erect the Rogue's Spirits, which before began to be dejected, and so hinder the Submission of many, his Lordship knowing that they would never be faithful to the State till they could not subsist against it, was of Opinion, that till they were brought into greater Extremities it would prove better that they should stand out than come in.

His Lordship, the 15th of *April*, advertised Master Secretary of this Accident, and how he had sent Forces to strengthen those Parts, and had taken special Care for the Safety of the Earl's Daughter and Heir, and being loth suddenly to give his Opinion herein, only professed to think it strange, that one so full of Regard to himself in all his Proceedings, should be so easily overtaken. Then his Lordship gave Confidence, that if the *Butlers* declared themselves for *Tyrone*, as soon as *Loughfoyle*
Garrison

Garrison was planted at his Back, his Lordship doubted not to be able to meet the Lord President in *Kilkenny*, and with their joint Forces to subdue the Rebels, and set those Parts in Obedience.

At this time the Fort of *Phillipstown* in *Ophaley* (otherwise called the *King's-County*) was to be victualed, and *Ony Mac Rory* with the *ó Mores* in *Leax*, together with the *ó Connors* in *Ophaley*, bragged that the Queen's Forces should not be able to victual it. Now by the Emulation of one of our chief Commanders, against another preferred before him, and strengthened by the Court Factions of *England*, the said Commander had sent out some weak Companies for this Service, to be led by the other, as in Preheminence of his Place, but a near Friend to the Lord Deputy, conceiving how much this first Action's Success might add Reputation, or give a Blemish, both to his Lordship and the Army, gave notice thereof, so as his Lordship offering the same Commander the leading of those Companies, he refusing to go with them, manifested the suspected Emulation. Whereupon his Lordship caused 14 strong Companies to be allotted, and gave the Command of them in chief to Sir *Oliver Lambert*, who conducted the Victuals, and led the Men with such Judgment and Valour, as being strongly fought with at the coming off, and especially at the going on, yet they performed the Service with great Loss and Discouragement to those proud Rebels, and the 15th of *April* his Lordship advertised Master Secretary of this good Service.

The 30th of *April* the Earl of *Ormond* sent to the Lord Deputy from the Woods the Conditions, *Ony Mac Rory* demanded under his own Hand for his Liberty, which till then he could not get, because *Ony* staid for *Tyrone's* and his Confederates Advice, adding a Postscript of his Lordship's own Hand; that the Letter was brought to him ready

written, neither was he allowed any Man of his own to write for him. The insolent Demands werethese: First, that her Majesty's Forces should be removed from *Leax*, and the Garrisons delivered to *Ony Mac Rory*'s Hands. Secondly, that Pledges should be delivered him for Caution, that no Garrisons should ever be planted there, which done, *Ony* and his Followers would submit themselves. Thirdly, if Pledges were not given, then the Garrisons also in *Ophaley* should be removed, and every Man left to shift for himself. The Postscript required, that upon such Pledges delivered, a general Protection for six Weeks should be sent to *Ony Mac Rory*, and all his Friends in *Leinster*, whereupon Answer should be returned, who desired the Benefit thereof, but during the said time of the Protection, no Forces of her Majesty's should be sent against their Confederates in *Ulster* and the North. The 5th of *May* the Lord Deputy drew into the North Parts, to make *Tyrone* look towards him, and so to give better Facility to our Men to settle themselves in Garrison at *Loughfoyle*. But before his Departure from *Dublin*, for the better governing and defending the Pale, his Lordship did by Commission leave Sir *H. Poore* to command in all martial Affairs, and some of the Council to govern civil Matters during his Absence. And staying some few Days at *Tredagh*, for the Companies which had victualled *Phillipstown*, and for the Garrisons of *Kells* and *Ardee*, as also for Victuals, he marched to *Dundalk*, whence taking that Garrison also with him, he passed the Pace of the *Moyry* on *Whitsunday* Morning, and so came to the *Newry*, where he understood, that according to his Opinion, *Tyrone* turning his Forces from *Loughfoyle*, was come in great haste to *Dangannon*, had razed the old Fort of *Blackwater*, burned *Armagh*, and had drawn his Men into the strong Fastness of *Loughburken*, where

where with great Industry the Rebels had made Trenches, and fortified the Place some three Miles in length. His Lordship to the former End advancing towards him, on the 16th of May, drew out of the *Newry*, and encamped in the Way towards *Armagh* with 1500 Foot, and some 200 Horse. And there having Notice, that the Rebels inquired after the time when the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Oliver*

The Fight at
the *Moyry*.

Lambert, Serjeant Major were to come to the Army, and with all hearing, that the said Earl and Serjeant Major were that Day arrived at *Dundalk*. His Lordship early in the Morning on the 17th of May, sent Capt. *Edward Blany* with 500 Foot, and 50 Horse, to secure their Passage through the Pace of the *Moyry*, who marched from the Camp, and so through the *Moyry* to the *Faghard*, from which Hill to *Dundalk*, there was no danger. There he made a Stand, and leaving his Foot in two Squadrons of 250 each, himself with the Horse passed to *Dundalk*, and told the Earl of the Forces the Lord Deputy had sent to conduct him, assuring him further, that his Lordship with the rest of the Army would meet him by two of the Clock in the Afternoon, at the Causey beyond the Pace, from which the whole Pace hath the Name of the *Moyry*. Hereupon the Earl having with him, besides his Convoy, the Foot Companies of Sir *Oliver Lambert* and Sir *Henry Folliot*, and some 50 Horse of voluntary Gentlemen, marched to the *Faghard* where he commanded one of the two Squadrons above-mentioned to march on, and after that the Carriages; then his Lordship with the Horse followed, after whom the second Squadron marched, and last of all the two Foot Companies of Sir *Oliver Lambert*, and Sir *Henry Folliot*, Capt. *Blany* commanding the Van-guard, advanced towards the *Four-mile-water*, being a Ford all environed with Woods, in the midst of this dangerous Pace called the

Moyry. And coming within half a Mile of the same, they discovered the Rebels on both Sides in the Wood, whereupon the Earl directed the Van-guard to pass over the Water, and to make good the Rising of the Hill beyond it. When these came within a Musket shot, they perceived 200 Foot of the Enemy lodged beyond the Water, in the most advantagious Places. Then Capt. *Blany* divided his Men into three Maniples, sending 60 on the right Hand under Capt. *Henry Atherton*, and as many on the left Hand under Capt. *Williams*, his Lieutenant, and keeping the rest in the midst with himself. And so by the Serjeant Major's Directions, they gave the Charge. In the mean time the Lord Deputy being on the Hill beyond the Pace, had sent his Van-guard, consisting of two Regiments, the one under Sir *Charles Percy*, and the other under Sir *Richard Moryson* (two Colonels of the Army,) to advance towards the Pace. And at this instant, when Capt. *Blany* gave on upon the Rebels, the said Lord Deputy's Van-guard appeared on the left Side, within two Musket shot. After some Vollicies on either Side, the Rebels on the right Hand, and those right before Capt. *Blany* quitted those Places, and retired through the Woods to the Earl of *Southampton's* Rear, so as Capt. *Blany* passing the Water, made a Stand there, as he was appointed to do, till the Carriage and Horse should be passed. And now the Lord Deputy's Van-guard being come to the Passage of the said Water, maintained a resolute Skirmish with the Rebels on the left Hand, and altogether secured the Earl's Troops on that Side. The Rebels thus beaten on both Sides, left some 100 Shot to skirmish with the Lord Deputy's Van-guard, and all retired to the Earl of *Southampton's* Rear, and came desperately on our Men, both with Horse and Foot. But
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Chap. II. of IRELAND. 153

Sir *Henry Folliot* made a very good Stand, and Sir *Oliver Lambert*, fearing lest our Men should be distressed, the more to encourage them, took his Colours in his own Hand and together with some 30 of the Earl of *Southampton's* Van-guard's best Men, sent back to the Rear, hastened towards the Assailants, to second the Earl, who at that time with some 6 Horse did charge the assailing Rebels, and beat them a Musket shot back, still pursuing them, till they having spent their Powder, and thrown their Staves, Darts, and innumerable Stones, recovered the Place, where *Tyrone* stood himself with some 220 Horse and 200 Foot in fight (besides a far greater Number hid in the Woods,) which never came unto this Fight. When our Men had thus gained much Ground, the Earl commanded them to march towards the Army, and presently Sir *Richard Wingfeild*, the Marshal of the Army of *Ireland* came to them, with order from the Lord Deputy, that since the repulsed Rebels were not like to give any second Charge, they should continue their March, following his Lordship's Troops directly to the *Newry*. In this conflict two of our Men were slain, Capt. *Atherton* and Mr. *Cheut* were shot, and some few hurt with Swords and such Weapons. On the Rebels Side there were in all 1200 Foot thus advantageously lodged, and 220 Horse, and *Tyrone* himself confessed, that 10 of his Men died with over-travelling in this hasty march, besides such as were killed, whose Number could not certainly be learned. The 21st of *May*, his Lordship was advertised from Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Governor of *Carrickfergus*, that the *English* sent to plant at *Loughfoyle* were safely landed with small Resistance, and had taken *Newcastle* belonging to Sir *John ô Dogherty*, whose Country they had spoiled and wasted, and that some of them sent forth upon a Draught, had taken good Store of Cows, and killed

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killed some of *ô Donnel's* People, and that they were now busy in fortifying about the *Derry*, so as many of that Country Southward did pass their Cows and Moveables into *Scotland*, depending specially upon the Hopes of *Spanish* Succours. That *Brian Mac Art* a Rebel bordering on *Carrickfergus*, had left his Fastness of *Kilultagh*, and now lay on the Borders of *Lecale*, where he purposed to assail him, the rather because he had sent 200 Men to assist *Tyrone*; that divers Gentlemen and others did daily fly from the Rebels, and resort unto him with their Goods, to the Number of 1200 Cows, and more would come, but that he doubted their Faithfulness. That to free himself of the Imputation to keep *James Mac Surley* an Enemy, till he had revenged on him his Brother's Death, he had imployed Colonel *Egerton* to invite that Rebel to Submission, but received only temporising Answers; whereupon according to his Lordship's Directions, he had written and sent a Messenger of purpose to the Lord of *Clantier* an Islander *Scot*, to stir him up against *James mac Surley*, wrongfully possessing his rightful Inheritance in those Parts of *Ireland*, offering to join the Queen's Forces under his Command, to those Powers he should bring, for Recovery of this his Right, so as he would after yield due Tribute and Obedience to her Majesty: But that upon the King of *Scots* late Proclamation, that all bearing Arms should be ready to attend the King on the 17th of *July* next following, in Prosecution of the Islander *Scots* (as was given out,) refusing to pay Tribute, he feared that this Lord would be diverted from imbracing this Business, howsoever advantageous to him. That he had received *Con mac Neal*, the Son of *Neal mac Brian*, and his Horsemen, into her Majesty's Pay, and would shortly waste his Father's Country, whence *Brian mac Art* and some 400 Bonnaghts (or hired Soldiers)

diers) were maintained and fed. Finally, that he thought fit to rebuild *Oldersfleet*, and leave some in Ward there, because the Haven was commodious to succour weather-beaten Ships, going to supply the Garrison of *Loughfoyle* with Necessaries.

The 26th of *May*, the Lord Deputy received a Letter from the Lords in *England*, with full Answer to his late Dispatches. For the Earl of *Ormond's* detension, they signified her Majesty's Grief to be the greater, because any Attempt made for his Recovery was like to prove his Ruin, and that her Majesty had written to the Countess, to send the Earl's young Daughter and Heir into *England*. For Sir *Arthur ô Neal's* Demands, upon his coming in to serve her Majesty, in the first Point concerning Religion, her Majesty bore with it, because she took it to proceed of his Ignorance, not of Presumption, only wishing the Lord Deputy to let him see, that her Majesty pursued none in those Parts for Religion, and so to satisfy him, but in no wise by any Contract or Condition. Next for his and others Suits for Land, and for Entertainments, because such overtures were like daily to be made, by such as submitted themselves, and Protraction of sending to and fro, might lose many Opportunities. First touching the Suits for Land, her Majesty's Directions in particular Cases following, should be a Rule to the Lord Deputy for his Grants of that Kind. And first for Sir *Arthur ô Neal's* demanding *Tyrone's* Estate, that could not be granted him, by Reason *Tyrone*, upon Pretence of an old Inquisition, had extended the limits of his Country, and incroached far into the *South* and *East*. But her Majesty was pleased to give him *Tyrone's* principal Seats, reserving Places for Forts, and Lands to maintain them, and reserving all Dependency of the Rites (or Neighbour Lords,) also reserving Lands in *Tyrone* to reward the Services of such
Gentlemen

Gentlemen as should serve under Sir *Arthur* in these Wars, which they should only hold of her Majesty by Letters Patents. For the rest Sir *Arthur* *o' Neal* to be Chief in *Tyrone*, as well in Superiority, as in Revenue. Touching *Neal Garve's* demands for *o' Donnell's* Estate, her Majesty's Pleasure was to reserve some Ports and Castles, and some Lands to reward the Services of that Country's Gentlemen, intending that these, and more especially the *Mac Swyne's*, should depend only upon her Majesty, and have Right to those Lands by her Letters Patents. Touching *Mac Gwire's* Country, her Majesty directed like Reservations of Land, for Forts and Rewards of Services, and generally in all Grants charged to reserve her Majesty's ancient Rights. Secondly, touching Suitors for Entertainments in Pay, her Majesty's Pleasure was signified to allow 1000*l.* a Month, so long as the Lord Deputy and the Council there should think fit, to be employed that Way, according to the Lord Deputy's Discretion. But their Lordships advised warily to observe, and know, such as offered Submission, because it had always been the Arch-Traitor's Practice, to let slip such as he could not defend, that they might save their Goods, and live upon her Majesty, without any intent to do her Service. Lastly, whereas the Lord of *Dunkellin* by his Letters, in regard of some Restrictions, whereby he was disabled to serve her Majesty as he desired, had made offer to resign the Government he had in the Province of *Connaught*. And for as much as the Queen was always unwilling to employ any great Lord in his own Country, yet finding him placed in that Government by the Earl of *Essex*, had still continued him there, only out of her special Favour to him. And for that of late some Insolencies had been offered to Companies of the *English*, by the old Earl of *Clanrickard's* Soldiers in her Majesty's Pay. Their Lordship's signified, that the
Queen's

Queen's Pleasure was, to accept the Lord of *Dunkellin's* Resignation, in the fairest Manner, and withal careful tendering of his Honour, advising the Lord Deputy to invite him to accompany his Lordship, and serve in the Army under him. And Sir *Arthur Savage* then a Colonel of the Army, and lying with his Company at *Athlone*, was appointed Provisional Governor of the Province of *Connaught*, except the Lord Deputy knew some sufficient Cause to the contrary. The Lord Deputy having attained his End of drawing the Army into the *North*, by the safe landing and settling of *Loughfoyle* Garrison, in the farthest *North* of *Ireland*, on *Tyrone's* back. His Lordship the 28th of *May* hearing that *Tyrone* had drawn back his Men two Miles further into the *Fastness*, and being informed that the Pace of the *Moyry*, by reason of much wet lately fallen, and the Rebels breaking of the Causey, was hard to pass, returned by *Carlingford* Pace to *Dundalk*, and so to *Dublin*, where he understood that the Rebels had in his Absence burned the Pale, though he left for Defence of it 2000 Foot and 175 Horse in *Leinster*, but the Damage was not answerable to the Clamour; for many private Men have in *England* sustained greater Loss by casual Fire in Time of Peace, than the whole Pale had done by the Enemy's burning in War, and many Private Men in *England* have in one Year lost more Cattle by a Rot, than the Pale lost by this spoiling of the Rebels, of which they lamentably complained. Besides that indeed this burning and spoiling of the very Pale, did further the greatest End of finishing the Wars, no way so likely to be brought to an End, as by a general Famine.

Give me leave to digress a little, to one of the fatal periods of *Robert* the noble Earl of *Essex* his Tragedy, (and the last but one, which was his Death) whereof the following relation was sent into *Ireland*. The 5th of *June* there assembled
at

at York House in London, about the hearing of my Lord of *Effex* his Cause, 18 Commissioners, viz. my Lord of *Canterbury*, Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, Lords of *Worcester*, *Shrewsbury*, *Cumberland*, *Huntington*, *Darby*, and *Zouch*, Master Comptroller, Master Secretary, Sir *John Fortesque*, Lord *Popham* Chief Justice, Lord *Anderson*, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Lord *Perian* Chief Baron of the Exchequer: Justices, *Gaudy* and *Walmesley*. They sat from 8 of the Clock in the Morning, till very near 9 at Night, all at a long Table in Chairs. At the Earl's coming in, none of the Commissioners stirred Cap, or gave any sign of Courtesy. He kneeled at the upper End of the Table, and a good while without a Cushion. At length my Lord of *Canterbury* moved my Lord Treasurer, and they jointly my Lord Keeper and Lord Admiral, that sat over against them, then was he permitted a Cushion, yet still was suffered to kneel, till the Queen's Sergeant's Speech was ended, when by the Consent of the Lords, he was permitted to stand up, and after upon my Lord of *Canterbury*'s Motion to have a Stool.

The manner of Proceeding was this. My Lord Keeper first delivered the Cause of the Assembly, and then willed the Queen's Council at Law, viz. Sergeant, Attorney, Sollicitor, and Master *Bacon* to inform against him. The Sergeant began, and his Speech was not long, only a Preface as it were to the Accusations. The Sum of it was, to declare the Queen's princely Care and Provision for the Wars of *Ireland*, and also her gracious dealing with the Earl before he went, in discharging 10000*l.* of his Debts, and giving him almost so much more, to buy him Horses, and provide himself, and especially in her Proceedings in this Cause, when as after so great Occasion of Offence, as, the Consumption

sumption of a Royal Army, fruitless wasting 300000 d. Treasure, Contempt, and Disobedience to her exprefs Commandment, she notwithstanding was content to be so merciful towards him, as not to proceed against him in any of her Courts of Justice, but only in this private Sort, by Way of Mercy and Favour.

After him the Attorney began, whose Speech contained the Body and Substance of the Accusation, it was very sharp, and stinging, for besides the many Faults of Contempt and Disobedience, wherewith he charged him, he did also shrewdly infer a dangerous Disposition and Purpose, which was by many rhetorical Applications, aggravated to the full; he divided his Speech into three Parts, *Quomodo ingressus*, *Quomodo progressus*, *Quomodo regressus*; In the ingress, he observed how large a Commission he stood upon, such a one as never any Man had the like before, namely, that he might have authority to pardon all Traitors of himself, yea, to pardon Treason committed against her Majesty's own Person, and that he might manage the Wars by himself, without being tied to the Advice of the Council of *Ireland*, which Clause he said was granted, that he might at first proceed in the *Northern* Journey, which the Council of *Ireland* (whose Lands and Livings lay in the *South*), might perhaps hinder, and labour to divert him, to the Safe-guard of themselves. In the other two Parts of his Speech were contained five special Crimes, wherewith the Earl was charged, *viz.* His making the Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horse. 2. His going to *Leinster* and *Munster*, when he should have gone to *Ulster*. 3. His making so many Knights. 4. His Conference with *Tyrone*. 5. His Return out of *Ireland*, contrary to her Majesty's Command. These all saving the fourth, were recited by the Lords in their Censures, as the Crimes for which he was censured by them.

The

The first was amplified, for that he did it contrary to her Majesty's Mind, plainly signified unto him in *England*, that he increased that Offence, by continuing him in that Office still, when her Majesty by Letters had expressly commanded him to displace him ; and thirdly, for that he wrote a very bold presumptuous Letter to her Majesty, in excuse of that Offence, which Letter was afterwards read. The second Point of his Southern Journey was aggravated, in that it was made contrary to her Majesty's advised Resolution, agreed upon by her Council, and approved by her martial Men, as the only means to reduce *Ireland*, and contrary to the Earl's own Project, yea, and that without the Advice of the Council of *Ireland* also, as appeared by a Letter of theirs under their Hands, though now the Earl pretended their Advice for his own Excuse, whereupon followed the harrowing out, and the weakening of the royallest Army that ever went out of *England*, the wasting of that huge Expence, and the Overthrow of the whole Action. The third point, viz. the making of Knights, was urged to have been contrary to her Majesty's express Commandment, a Question being once made, whether he should have that Authority or no, because he had abused it before, yet the same being at the last granted, with this Limitation giving him in Charge, that he should make but few, and those Men of good Ability, whereas he made to the Number of 60, and those some of his menial Servants, yea and that in a most unseasonable Time, when Things were at the worst, which should have been done upon Victory and Triumph only. The 4th Point, namely, his Conference with the Rebel, was aggravated, in that it was an equal and secret Conference, dishonourable to her Majesty, for him that sustained her Royal Person, to confer in equal sort with the basest and vilest Traitor that ever lived, a bush Kerne, and base Son of a Blacksmith ; suspicious
also,

also, in that it was private and secret, no Man suffered to approach, but especially no *Englishman*; the End of the Conference most shameful, that the wretched Traitor should prescribe Conditions to his Sovereign; abominable and odious Conditions, a publick Toleration of idolatrous Religion, Pardon for himself and all the Traitors in *Ireland*, and full Restitution of Lands and Possessions to all the sort of them. It was added, that before this Parley, a Messenger went secretly from the Earl's Camp to the Traitor, viz. Captain *Thomas Leigh*, if not sent by the Earl, at least by his connivency, at least by the connivency of the Marshal, whom the Earl did not punish, Lastly, the 5th Point was urged to be intolerably presumptuous, contrary to her Majesty's express Commandment in writing, under the Seal of her privy Signet, charging him upon his Duty not to return until he heard further from her; that this his return was also exceeding dangerous, in that he left the Army divided unto two divers Men, the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Lord Chancellor, Men whom himself had excepted against, as unfit for such a Trust, and that he so left this Army, as that if God his Providence had not been the greater, the Ruin and Loss of the whole Kingdom had ensued thereupon. This was the Sum of the Accusation, every Part interlaced with most sharp and bitter rhetorical Amplifications, which I touch not, nor am fit to write, but the Conclusion was (whereby a taste of the same may be had) that the Ingress was proud and ambitious, the Progress disobedient, and contemptuous, the Regress notorious and dangerous. Among other Things the Lady *Rich* her Letter to the Queen was pressed with very bitter and hard Terms: My Lady *Rich* her Letter he termed an insolent, saucy malipert Action. He proposed also in the End a President for the Earl's Punishment (saying, he was fain to seek far for one gentle enough): One

William of *Britton* Earl of *Richmond*, who refusing to come home out of *France* upon the King's Letter, was adjudged to lose all his Goods, Lands, and Chattels, and to endure perpetual Imprisonment. Master *Attorney* particularly said the following Words, whereas the Earl in his Letter exclaimeth *O tempora, O Mores* (forso I think he construed these Words of his, O hard destiny of mine, that I cannot serve the Queen and please her too)! Let me also say with the Orator concerning him; *Hæc Regini intelligit, hæc Senatus videt, hic tamen vivit*. In the end of his Speech, Now (saith he) nothing remaineth but that we inquire *quo animo*, all this was done. Before my Lord went into *Ireland*, he vaunted and boasted, that he would fight with none but the Traitor himself, he would pull him by the Ears out of his Den, he would make the Earl tremble under him, &c. But when he came thither, then no such Matter, he goes another Way, it appeareth plainly he meant nothing less than to fight with *Tyrone*. This was the Effect of Master *Attorney's* part.

Master *Sollicitor* his Speech followed, which contained the unhappy Success, which ensued in *Ireland* after the Earl's Departure, whereby appeared how little good the Earl had done, in that the Traitor was grown much more confident, more insolent, and stronger than ever he was before, as appeared principally by his Declaration, which he hath given out since the Earl's Departure, vaunting that he is the Upholder of the Catholick Faith and Religion, that whereas it was given out by some that he would follow the Earl of *Essex* into *England*, he would perhaps shortly appear in *England* little to *England's* Good: Many Things he added to that Purpose.

After

After him Sir *Francis Bacon* concluded the Accusation with a very eloquent Speech. First by Way of Preface, signifying, that he hoped both the Earl himself, and all that heard him, would consider, that the particular bond of Duty, which he then did and ever would acknowledge to owe unto the Earl, was now to be sequestred, and laid aside. Then did he notably extol her Majesty's singular Grace and Mercy, whereof he said the Earl was a singular Work, in that upon his humble Suit, she was content not to prosecute him in her Court of Justice the Star-chamber, but according to his own earnest Desire, to remove that Cup from him, (those he said were the Earl's own Words in his Letter), and now to suffer his Cause to be heard. *Inter privatos parietes*, by Way of Mercy and Favour only, where no Manner of Disloyalty was laid to his Charge, for (quoth he) if that had been the Question, this had not been the Place. Afterwards passing along most eloquently through the Earl's Journey into *Ireland*, he came to charge him with two Points not spoken of before. The first was a Letter written by the Earl unto my Lord Keeper, very boldly and presumptuously, in derogation to her Majesty, which Letter he also said was published by the Earl's own Friends. The points of the Letter which he stood upon, were these; No Tempest to the passionate Indignation of a Prince; as if her Majesty were devoid of Reason, carried away with Passion (the only thing that joineth Man and Beast together): Her Majesty's Heart is obdurate, he would not say that the Earl meant to compare her absolutely to *Pharaoh*, but in this particular only, which must needs be very odious. Cannot Princes err: Cannot Subjects suffer Wrong? As if her Majesty had lost her Virtues of Judgment, Justice, &c. Far be it from me (quoth he) to attribute divine Properties to mortal Princes, yet this I must truly say, that by the Common Law of

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England, a Prince can do no Wrong. The last point of that Letter, was a Distinction of the Duty a Subject oweth to his Prince, that the Duty of Allegiance, is the only indissoluble Duty, what then (quoth he) is the Duty of Gratitude? What the Duty of Obedience? &c. The second point of Master *Bacon*'s Accusation was, that a certain dangerous seditious Pamphlet, was of late put forth into print, concerning the first Years of the Reign of *Henry* the 4th, but indeed the end of *Richard* the second, and who thought fit to be Patron of that Book, but my Lord of *Effex*, who after the Book had been out a Week, wrote a cold formal Letter to my Lord of *Canterbury*, to call it in again, knowing belike that forbidden Things are most sought after: This was the Effect of his Speech. The special points of the whole Accusation were afterwards proved by the Earl's own Letters, by some of her Majesty's Letters, and the Councils, and by the Letter of the Earl of *Ormond* and others of the Council of *Ireland*, openly read by the Clerk of the Council.

The Accusation ended, the Earl kneeling, began to speak for himself, in Effect thus much. That ever since it pleased her gracious Majesty to remove that Cup from him (which he acknowledged to have been at his humble Suit) and to change the course of Proceeding against him, which was intended in the Star-chamber; he laid aside all thought of justifying himself in any of his Actions, and that therefore, he had now resolved, with himself never to make any Contestation with his Sovereign: That he had made a Divorce betwixt himself and the World, if God and his Sovereign would give him leave to hold it; that the inward Sorrow and Afflictions which he had laid upon his Soul privately, betwixt God and his Conscience, for the great Offence against her Majesty, was more than any outward cross or Affliction

fiction that could possibly befall him. That he would never excuse himself neither *a toto* nor *a tanto*, from whatsoever Crimes of Error, Negligence, or inconsiderate Rashness, which his Youth, Folly, or manifold Infirmities might lead him into, only he must ever profess a loyal faithful unspotted Heart, unfeigned Affection and Desire, ever to do her Majesty the best Service he could, which rather than he would lose, he would, if Christianity and Charity did permit, first tear his Heart out of his Breast, with his own Hands. But this always preserved untouched, he was most willing to confess and acknowledge whatsoever Errors and Faults it pleased her Majesty to impute to him. The first part of his Speech drew plenty of Tears from the Eyes of many of the Hearers; for it was uttered with great Passion, and the Words excellently ordered, and it might plainly appear, that he had intended to speak no more for himself. But being touched (as it seemed) with the oversharp Speeches of his Accusers, he humbly craved of their Lordships, that whereas he had perceived many rhetorical Inferences and Insinuations given out by his Accusers, which might argue a disloyal, malicious, wicked, and corrupt Affection in him, they would give him leave, not in any Sort to excuse himself, but only by Way of Explanation, to lay down unto them those false Guides, which had deceived him, and led him into all his Errors, and so he entered into a Kind of answering Master *Attorney's* Speech, from point to point in order, alledging, for the point of his large Commission for pardoning Treason against her Majesty's Person, that it was a Thing he had learned of Master *Attorney* himself, only to meet with the Rebels Curiosity, which had an Opinion, that all Treason in *Ireland*, might be interpreted Treason against her Majesty's Person, and therefore would trust no Pardon without that Clause. That in making the

Earl of *Southampton* General of the Horse, the deceivable guide which misled him, was an opinion that her Majesty might have been satisfied with those Reasons which moved him, as also with those Reasons which he had alledged in his Letters, for Continuance of him in the Place, but that after he perceived her Majesty's Mind plainly in her second Letter, he displaced him the next Day: For his Journey into *Munster*, he alledged divers Things, principally that the Time of the Year would not serve for an *Ulster* Journey, and then the Advice of the Council there, which he protested to alledge, not to excuse himself, but rather to accuse his own Errors, and the Errors of the Counsellors in *Ireland*: And whereas some of them to excuse themselves, and charge him the deeper, had now written the contrary to the Council: He protested deeply that therein they had dealt most falsely, and it seemeth (saith he) that God his just Revenge hath overtaken two of them already, the Earl of *Ormond* by Blindness, and Sir *Warham St. Leger*, by violent Death. For his making of Knights, he alledged the Necessity and Straights he was driven unto, that being the only Way he had to retain the Voluntaries, the Strength and Pride of the Army; that he made but two of his Servants, and those Men of special Desert and good Ability: That he thought his Service ought not to be any Bar against them, for the receiving the Reward of their Deserts.

But before he had thus waded through half his Answer, my Lord Keeper interrupted him, and told him, that this was not the course that was like to do him good, that he began very well in submitting himself, unto her Majesty's Mercy and Pardon, which he with the rest of the Lords, were glad to hear; and no doubt but her princely and gracious Nature was by that way most like to be inclined to him: That all extenuating of his Offence,

fence, was but the extenuating of her Majesty's Mercy in pardoning: That he with all the rest of the Lords would clear him of all Suspicion of Disloyalty: and therefore he might do well to spare the rest of his Speech, and save Time, and commit himself to her Majesty's Mercy. And when the Earl replied, that it might appear by that hedge which he diligently put to all his Answers, that he spake nothing but only to clear himself from a malicious corrupt Affection. My Lord Keeper told him again, that if thereby he meant the Crime of Disloyalty, it was that which he needed not to fear, he was not charged with it, as the Place and Course taken against him might warrant; all that was now laid unto him, was Contempt and Disobedience. And if he intended to persuade them, that he had disobeyed indeed, but not with a Purpose of disobeying, that were frivolous and absurd.

Then my Lord Treasurer began to speak, and clear the Earl from Suspicion of Disloyalty, did very soundly controul divers of his other Excuses.

After him Master Secretary, making a Preface why he spoke before his Turn, by Reason of his Place, took the matter in Hand, and first notably clearing the Earl from all Suspicion of Disloyalty, which he protested he did from his Conscience, and afterwards often iterated the same, and preserved it unto him entire, he spoke singularly for the justifying of her Majesty's special Care and Wisdom for the Wars in *Ireland*, in providing whatsoever could be demanded by the Earl for that Service before his going out; with supplying him afterwards with whatsoever he could ask, so it were possible to be given him: In prescribing that Course, which had it been followed, was the only Way to have reduced that Realm, and which being forsaken, was the only Ruin and Loss of that Royal Army.

And as for all those Excuses which the Earl alledged for himself he clearly cut them off, shewing that his Excuse of following the Council of *Ireland's* Advice was nothing, his Commission being so large that he was not bound to follow them; and if he had been, yet were they a Council at his Command, he might force them to say what he list; his own Letters which he alledged, might be provisionary, written of purpose then to excuse him now. To be short, he greatly justified her Majesty's Wisdom in managing that whole Action as much as lay in her, and laid the whole Fault of the bad Success in *Ireland* upon the Earl's ominous Journey (so he called it) into *Munster*: And thus in the Behalf of her Majesty he fully satisfied the Auditors. Master Secretary gave the Earl his Right always, and shewed more Curtesy than any, yet, said he, the Earl in all his Journey did nothing else but make (as it were) Circles of Errors which were all bound up in the unhappy Knot of his disobedient Return. Also he gave the Earl free Liberty to interrupt him at any time in his Speech.

But the Earl being contented with the Opinion of Loyalty so clearly reserved unto him was most willing to bear the whole Burthen of all the rest of the Accusation, and therefore never used any further Reply; only by Reason of a Question or two, that were moved by my Lord of *Canterbury* and my Lord Admiral, some little Speech there was to and fro. My Lord of *Canterbury's* Question was concerning the Conditions of yielding unto *Tyrone* in toleration of Religion; the Earl heartily thanked him for moving that Doubt, and then protested that it was a Thing mentioned indeed, but never yielded unto by him, nor yet stood upon by the Traitor, to whom the Earl had said plainly, Hang thee up, thou carest for Religion as much as my Horse. Master Secretary also cleared the Earl in that respect, that he never yielded to *Tyrone* in that
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foul Condition, though by reason of *Tyrone's* vaunting afterwards, it might have some Shew of Probability. By reason of my Lord Admiral's Question, the Earl spake somewhat of his Return, that he did it upon a false Ground of Hope, that her Majesty might pardon him, as she did the Earl of *Leicester* in the like Case, who returned out of the Low-Countries contrary to her Majesty's express Letter. This I thought with my self (quoth the Earl) if *Leicester* were pardoned, whose End was only to save himself, why might not *Essex* be pardoned, whose End was to save a Kingdom. But Master Secretary replied, that upon his Knowledge there never passed any Letter from her Majesty to forbid the Earl of *Leicester's* Return.

Judge *Walmesley's* Speech was more blunt than bitter: Prisoners at our Bars (saith he) are more graceless, they will not confess their Faults. Again: He compared my Lord's coming Home, and leaving the Army there, to a Shepherd that left his Flock to the keeping of his Dog.

In Conclusion, the Earl protested that all he sought for was the Opinion of a true and a loyal Subject, which might appear by the Speech, where-with he hedged in all his Answers, namely, that he intended only to shew those false Guides, which misled him, whether they were his own Errors, or the Errors of his Counsellors, whom he followed, that he yielded himself wholly to her Majesty's Mercy and Favour, and was ready to offer up his poor Carcass unto her, he would not say to do (for alas he had no Faculties), but to suffer whatsoever her Majesty should inflict upon him, and so requested them all to make a just, honourable, and favourable Report of his disordered Speeches, which had fallen from him in such Sort as his aking Head and Body weakened with Sicknes would give him Leave. This done, they proceeded to the Censure. My Lord Keeper began with a good, powerful, and eloquent Speech. That

That by Justice and Clemency the Throne is established; as for Mercy, her Majesty had reserved it to herself; but for the satisfying of her Justice she had appointed them to enquire into the Cause. That they were to enquire only of those Faults of Contempts and Disobedience laid unto the Earl, and to censure him accordingly; and for her Mercy, they had nothing to do with it, only God was to work it in her princely Breast. In examining the Earl's Faults he laid these for his Grounds, that the two Grounds and Foundations of the Prince's Scepter and Estate are, the Reputation of a diligent and careful Providence for the Preservation of her Estate and Countries, and the Obedience of her Subjects; and he that should take either of these from her, should take from her the Crown and Scepter. For the first, he notably shewed at large how her Majesty had deserved it in the whole Course of the *Irish* Wars; for Obedience he shewed the Nature of it, consisting in precisely following the streight Line of the Prince's Commandment, and upon that Strain he amplified to the uttermost all the Earl's Contempts and Disobediences, that her Majesty's great Mercy might appear the more clearly. Among the rest, (for he went through them all in order), he answered thus to the Pretence of *Leicester's* Precedent for Excuse of the Earl's Return: In good things, the Example is better than the Imitation of another; he that doth well of his own Head doth best, and he that doth well by Imitation doth commendably in a less Degree; but in bad things the Proportion is otherwise, the Example being naught the Imitation is worse: Therefore, if my Lord of *Leicester* did Evil in coming over contrary to the Queen's Commandment, my Lord of *Essex* did worse in imitating my Lord of *Leicester*, and is so much the more to be punished for it. In the End he came to the Censure, which was this: If, quoth he, this Cause had been
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heard in the Star-Chamber my Sentence must have been so great a Fine as ever was set upon any Man's Head in that Court, and perpetual Imprisonment in that Place which belongeth to a Man of his Quality, that is, the Tower; but now that we are in another Place, and in a Course of Favour, my Censure is, that he is not to execute the Office of a Counsellor, nor to hold himself for a Counsellor of Estate, nor to execute the Office of Earl Marshal of *England*, nor of the Master of the Ordnance, and to return to his own House, there to continue a Prisoner as before, till it shall please her Majesty to releafe both this and all the rest.

After my Lord Keeper all the rest in Order gave their Censures, (amplifying her Majesty's Clemency and the Earl's Offences) according to the Manner in the Star-Chamber; but all accorded to this Censure, (for so they called it, and not a Sentence). Master Secretary said, my Censure is, that the Earl deserveth, &c. The greater Part of the Day was spent in the Lords Censures, who were many of them very long, only the Noblemen (not Counsellors) were short.

The Earl of *Worcester* cited these two Verses;

*Scilicet a Superis etiam fortuna luenda est,
Nec veniam, lasso numine, casus habet.*

Even for our Fortune Gods may cast us down,
Neither can Chance excuse if a God frown.

The Earl of *Cumberland* said, if he thought that Censure should stand he would crave longer time, for it seemed unto him somewhat hard and heavy, intimating how easily a General Commander might incur the like; but (quoth he) in Confidence of her Majesty's Mercy, I agree with the rest.

The Lord *Zouch* would give no other Censure but that which he thought the Earl would lay upon himself,

himself, that was, that he would restrain himself from executing his Offices, &c. and keep himself in his House till her Majesty shall release all.

They all seemed by their Speeches to conceive a sure Hope of her Majesty's releasing this Censure, and the Earl was reasonably chearful, only his Body seemed weak and distempered with Sicknes, and now and then he shewed most manifest Tokens of Sorrow for his Offence to her Majesty by Tears in his Eyes, (specially in the first Part of his own Speech, and when my Lord Keeper spoke).

Now I return to the *Irish* Affairs. *Tyrone* on the 5th of *June* wrote to the Countess of *Ormond*, that he had written to *Owny Mac Rory*, requesting him to take Pledges for the Earl her Husband, and so to enlarge him, conditionally, that he should swear to do henceforward no Hurt or Hindrance to any in Action with him. And further, that the young Lady his Mistress, (meaning the Earl's Daughter and Heir) should in no Sort be taken for a Pledge, especially because it was given out, that under that Colour he sought to marry her to his eldest Son. Avowing lastly, that where it was said that the Earl was treacherously surpris'd, (which could hardly have been so proved, that *Tyrone* and his rebellious Confederates should have believed it), he would in that Case not only take his Favour from *Owny*, but procure the Earl's Enlargement without any Condition, though by his Release all *Ireland* should be destroyed. To the same Effect *Tyrone* writ to the Earl of *Ormond*, whose Letter he sauced with general Complaints against the Earl for the rigorous Prosecutions he had formerly made against him and his Associates; but this Letter being permitted to be sent to *Dublin*, the said Point could not be thought void of that Cunning wherein the Writer excelled. A third Letter he wrote at the same time to *Owny Mac Rory*, making *Owny* himself Judge whether he had treacherously taken
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the Earl or no, advising him to take the best Pledges he could (the above-named young Lady excepted); and for more Security, to send them to be kept in *Tyrone*, if he concurred with him in Opinion, that his so doing would be more safe than if *Owny* himself should keep them in those Parts. These Letters he dated (forsooth) from his Camp near the *Newry*, so gallant was the Gentleman, now the Lord Deputy was returned with his Forces into the Pale, who otherwise never appeared in Camp, but hid himself and his in boggy Woods and like fortified Passages.

The 8th of *June* the Lord Deputy wrote to Master Secretary concerning the State of *Connaught*, wherein nothing was surely the Queen's but *Athlone* by a provident Guard, and *Gallway* by their own good Disposition, wishing that the Government of that Province might be conferred on the Earl of *Southampton*, (to whom the Lord of *Dunkellin* would more willingly resign, and might do it with greater Reputation to himself, in respect of the Earl's Greatness), rather than upon Sir *Arthur Savage*, (who notwithstanding upon the Queen's Pleasure again signified, was shortly after made Governor of that Province). His Lordship protested that it was such a Place as he knew the Earl would not seek, but only himself desired this, because he knew the Earl's Aptness and Willingness to do the Queen Service, if he might receive such a Token of her Favour, justly commending his Valour and Wisdom, as well in general, as in the late particular Service in the *Moyry*, when the Rear being left naked, he by a resolute Charge with 6 Horse upon *Tyrone* in the Head of 220 Horse drove him back a Musket-shot, and so assuring the Rear, saved the Honour of the Queen's Army. To which Purpose, though not so amply, his Lordship also wrote to the Queen.

At this Time the County of *Dublin*, on the South of the River *Liffy*, was in effect wholly over-run by the Rebels; the County of *Kildare* was likewise possessed or wasted by them; the County of *Meath* was wasted, as also the County of *West-Meath* (excepting the Barony of *Delvin*), and the County of *Lowth*: So that in the *English* Pale, the Towns having Garrisons, and the Lands from *Drogheda* (or *Tredagh*) to the *Navan*, and thence back to *Trim*, and so to *Dublin*, were only inhabited, which were also like to grow waste, if they were further charged with the Soldiers.

The 15th of *June* the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Governour of *Carrickfergus*, that he should not spare the Subjects lately submitting who protected the Rebels Goods; that he should receive no more, but such as would simply submit and give good Pledges, neither should give Pay to any except he knew their Service would be very beneficial to the Queen; that he should continue to treat with the Islander *Scots*, till Advice came out of *England* what Course should be taken with them; that he should take in *Shane ó Neal* with Promise of Lands and Entertainment, and Promise that for Preys he should take of the Rebels, if the *English* assisted him, he should have a third Part, and if he took them without the Assistance of the *English*, he should have three Parts of four.

The 19th of *June* the Lord Deputy advertised Master Secretary that he was more troubled to govern the Friends than to suppress the Enemies; that finding the Army a meer Chaos, he had given it Form; that finding it without Spirit, he had given it Life; that in all Attempts he had preserved the whole Body of it, and every Part, from any Blow, restored the Reputation of it, and possessed it with a Disposition to undertake, and a Likelihood to effect great Services; that he had omitted
nothing,

nothing, which might be performed by this Army, in this Estate, during this Time; that the Assurance the *Irish* had received of Succours from *Spain* was the only Fewel of the last Blaze of this Rebellion: Therefore praying, that except Master Secretary had some Certainty that *Spain* would not at that Time assist the Rebels, the Army might by all Means be strengthened, which would be necessary if such Assistance were sent, and would make an End of the Wars if none were sent. And howsoever that befel, yet for prevention of Munition and such Supplies to be furnished to the Rebels from *Spain*, advising that some few of the Queen's Ships might lie on the West, and somewhat towards the North of *Ireland*: Adding that some little Boats made both to row and to sail, would bar the Islander *Scots* from supplying the Rebels with any Munition; and that his Lordship to meet with the Earl of *Ormond*, (lately set free by *Owny mac Rorry*, who had taken him Prisoner), that Day took his Journey towards *Catherlogh*, where he hoped to sound the Bottom of the Conditions of his Delivery, with the best Course how to disintangle him, and by his Conference to make a shrewd Guess how the Earl stood affected in these doubtful Times. His Lordship in his next Letters advertised into *England*, that he was not privy nor consenting to the giving of Pledges at the Earl of *Ormond's* Delivery; but since they were given, in regard of her Majesty's extraordinary Care for the Earl's Liberty, he did not shew any manifest Dislike thereof; and now conceived the Earl did apprehend the Indignity done to him by those base Traitors, and therefore had such a Spleen against them, as he had joined with him in divers Plots as well to recover the Pledges (wherein the Earl protested to spare no Money, if they were so to be redeemed; besides, that he and their Fathers protested that their Danger should not hinder them from doing their
uttermost

uttermoſt Service to the Queen) as alſo to work his Revenge upon the Rebels.

At this time *Tyrone* attending the Garriſon at *Loughfoyle*, and *ó Donnel* ſtaring through *Connaught* into *Thomond*, and ſpoiling both Countries, Sir *Samuel Bagnol* drew out of the *Newry* into *Monaghan*, where he took a Prey, and killed fix Commanders, and ſome fixty of the common Rebels, only three of his being ſlain, and twenty hurt.

The Subjects of the Pale (fearing belike to be complained on for the ſmall Aſſiſtance they gave to the Queen's Service) ſent over the Lord of *Howth* and Sir *Patrick Barnewell* to make firſt Complaint (after the *Irish* Manner) of the Wrongs done them by the Army, never acquainting the Lord Deputy and Council therewith: And notwithstanding their former Unwillingneſs to bear any Charge for the Queen's Service, now they were content, for theſe their Deputies Expence in *England*, to ceſs every Plow-land at 3 s.

From the 7th of *July* to the 12th, Sir *Oliver Lambert* with ſome Troops lay encamped at the *Tougher* in *Ophalia*, where he made a Cauſeway, and built a Fort, and there left a Guard to keep the Paſſage always open for the victualling of *Philipstown* Fort, in which Service the Earl of *Southampton*, as a Voluntary, by his Preſence and Valour much encouraged our Men. At this time many of the Rebels in *Leinſter*, and the Northern Borders made Suit to the Lord Deputy to be received to Mercy, with Offers of large Sums of Money to the Lord Deputy for their Pardons, but his Lordſhip reſuſed their Offer till they had firſt done ſome Service, and had drawn Blood againſt ſome of their Confederates. Thus much his Lordſhip advertiſed into *England* the 16th of *July*, as likewise a good Service preſently done, and a great Prey taken in the *Fuſe* by Sir *Richard Moryſon* the Governour of *Dundalk*.

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The same twelfth of *July* his Lordship took his Journey towards the Borders of the North upon hearing that *Tyrone* was drawn into those Parts: There his Lordship intended to spoil the Corn, as likewise in all other Parts, when it should be a little riper. *Mac Mahowne*, and *Patrick Mac Art Moyle*, offered now to submit, but neither could be received without the other's Head: But *o Connor Roe Mac Guire*, for good Respects of Service, was at the same time received to Mercy. His Lordship hearing that *Tyrone* contained himself in his Fastness, and being required out of *England* to attempt something upon the *Leinster* Rebels, left the Northern Borders strongly guarded against any Invasion, and left Order with the Council to hasten the general Hoasting, and make ready all Provisions for a Journey into the North, and leaving *Dublin* the 12th of *August*, rode to the *Naas*, and so marched to the Fort of *Philipstown* in *Ophaly*, with 560 Foot and 60 Horse, besides Voluntaries in his Company.

In the way into *Leax* his Lordship took a Prey of 200 Cows, 700 Garrons, and 500 Sheep, besides great Store of small Cattle. The 16th of *August*, his Lordship burning the Country and spoiling the Corn, marched towards the Passage, (one of the most dangerous in *Ireland*,) where Sir *Oliver Lambert* with the Forces he had was to meet him. Both of them fought all the Way, and killed divers Rebels, whereof the Lord Deputy left 15 dead in the Place, besides many hurt, they met together at Noon. The 17th Day the Army marched towards a Fastness, where the Rebels had stored great Plenty of Corn. At the Entry there was a Ford, compassed in with Woods, and a Bog between them, where the Rebels let the Vanguard of the Horse pass; but his Lordship passing with a few Gentlemen, and his own Servants before the Van-guard of the Foot, the Rebels be-

uttermost Service to the Queen) as also to work his Revenge upon the Rebels.

At this time *Tyrone* attending the Garrison at *Loughfoyle*, and *ó Donnel* starting through *Connaught* into *Thomond*, and spoiling both Countries, Sir *Samuel Bagnol* drew out of the *Newry* into *Monaghan*, where he took a Prey, and killed six Commanders, and some sixty of the common Rebels, only three of his being slain, and twenty hurt.

The Subjects of the Pale (fearing belike to be complained on for the small Assistance they gave to the Queen's Service) sent over the Lord of *Howth* and Sir *Patrick Barnewell* to make first Complaint (after the *Irish* Manner) of the Wrongs done them by the Army, never acquainting the Lord Deputy and Council therewith: And notwithstanding their former Unwillingness to bear any Charge for the Queen's Service, now they were content, for these their Deputies Expence in *England*, to cels every Plow-land at 3 s.

From the 7th of *July* to the 12th, Sir *Oliver Lambert* with some Troops lay encamped at the *Tougher* in *Ophalia*, where he made a Causeway, and built a Fort, and there left a Guard to keep the Passage always open for the victualling of *Philipstown* Fort, in which Service the Earl of *Southampton*, as a Voluntary, by his Presence and Valour much encouraged our Men. At this time many of the Rebels in *Leinster*, and the Northern Borders made Suit to the Lord Deputy to be received to Mercy, with Offers of large Sums of Money to the Lord Deputy for their Pardons, but his Lordship refused their Offer till they had first done some Service, and had drawn Blood against some of their Confederates. Thus much his Lordship advertised into *England* the 16th of *July*, as likewise a good Service presently done, and a great Prey taken in the *Fuse* by Sir *Richard Moryson* the Governour of *Dundalk*.

The

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gan the Skirmish with him, and the Foot Wings being slowly sent out, they came close up to him, the Traitor *Tyrrel* having appointed 100 Shot to wait on his Lordship's Person, with Marks to know him. In this Skirmish we killed 35 Rebels, and hurt 75 on our Part, two only being killed, and a few slightly hurt, Capt. *Masterfon* dangerously hurt in the Knee, and his Lordship having a very good Horse killed under him, and another killed under Master *John Ghidley* a Gentleman of his Lordship's Chamber: But the best Service at that time done, was the killing of *Owny mac Rory*, a bloody and bold young Man, who lately had taken the Earl of *Ormond* Prisoner, and had made great Stirs in *Munster*. He was the Chief of the *ó Mores* Sept. in *Leax*, and by his Death they were so discouraged, that they never after held up their Heads. Also a bold bloody Rebel *Callogh mac Walter*, was at the same Time killed. Besides that his Lordship's staying in *Leax* till the 23d of *August*, did many other Ways weaken them; for during that time, he fought almost every Day with them, and as often did beat them. Our Captains, and by their Example (for it was otherwise painful) the common Soldiers, did cut down with their Swords all the Rebels Corn, to the Value of 10000 *l.* and upward, the only Means by which they were to live, and to keep their Bonnaghts (or hired Soldiers.) It seemed incredible, that by so barbarous Inhabitants, the Ground should be so manured, the Fields so orderly fenced, the Towns so frequently inhabited, and the High-ways and Paths so well beaten, as the Lord Deputy here found them. The Reason whereof was, that the Queen's Forces, during these Wars, never till then came among them. The Lord Deputy in his Return the first Day passed into another Part of the Country with the Foot alone; for the Horse not able to pass were sent about, so as the Rebels had the Advantage

Advantage they most desire, to fight with our Foot, without Assistance of Horse: Yet all the Rebels of *Leinster* here gathered together, and fighting upon their natural Ground, had been so beaten, as that they suffered our Men to pass without a Blow. That Night 8 Heads were brought to the Lord Deputy, and with them one *Lenagh* a famous Rebel, taken alive, who was presently hanged on the same Tree, where he plotted all his Villanies. Sir *Oliver Lambert*, with some Troops marched into *Donnel Spagniah's* Country, where he took 1000 Cows, 500 Garrons, great Store of Sheep, and killed 20 Rebels at the first Entry, besides many killed in Fight, which the Rebels after maintained all the Day and Part of the Night. Sir *Arthur Savage* coming out of *Connaught* to meet the Lord Deputy, fought long with the Rebels, spoiled the Country, and took a great Prey, but could not pass to his Lordship. In the Lord Deputy's Return out of *Leax*, *Redmond*, *Keating*, and the Chief of the Septs of the *Kellies* and *Lalors* were received into her Majesty's Protection, upon Condition to set at Liberty the Earl of *Ormond's* Pledges in their Hands.

By this time his Lordship had received out of *England* gracious Allowance of his former Northern Journey, with her Majesty's Promise to reinforce the Army with 2000 Foot, and 200 Horse, against the next Journey into those Parts, requiring him not to give any one Man the Command of both Horse and Foot; and whereas all Companies were of 200, or 150, advising to distribute some Part into less Numbers, that more Gentlemen might be satisfied with Commands, with the only Increase of some chief Officer's Pay, and that his Lordship would be sparing to give Passports for any to come into *England*, to trouble her Majesty with Suits, and most of all not to suffer a le Men to return out of *Ireland*, as they daily

did, with their Captains Passports. And to the End the Commanders might not be idle, her Majesty required, that all Services done by them, might be certified monthly into *England*. About this time the Earl of *Southampton*, leaving the Wars of *Ireland*, sailed into *England*. This Summer's Service made it appear, that Journeys with a great Army did not so much good, as Garrisons lying upon the Rebels, which upon any sudden Service, might easily be drawn together in competent Numbers, and in the mean time kept the Rebels at home, from seconding one another.

The Lord Deputy by his Letters, during the foresaid Journey, explained to the Lords in *England*, that he had been most careful not to increase her Majesty's Charge in any thing, the want whereof would not have made the rest of her great Expence to be unprofitable: And to the End the Commanders might not be thought to lie idle, besides the good Fortune that none of them had received any blow, he particularly remembred many Preys taken, and Services done, and for the chief Garrisons on the North Borders, advertised, that Sir *Arthur Chichester* had laid all the Country waste within 20 Miles of *Carrickfergus*; that Sir *Samuel Bagnol* at the *Newry* had done the like; that Sir *Richard Moryson* at *Dundalk* had banished *Turlough mac Henry* out of the *Fuze* into *Monaghan*, and yet the two last, with most Part of their Garrisons, had been Part of the Army in all former Journies.

The 26th of *August* his Lordship returned from this Journey of *Leax* to *Dublin*, and there received Advertisement, that her Majesty could not refuse to hear the Complaints of the Pale, by the Deputies formerly mentioned to be sent over, though she had sharply rebuked them, that they did not first complain to the Lord Deputy, which they excused by Experience, that like Complaints in *Ireland*

land had ever been vain. The chief Complaints were these; that the Forces that should lie upon the Borders, near the Rebels, were lodged upon them. That the fetching of one Barrel of Powder was often made a sufficient Reason to spoil them, by a Company of Horse and Foot sent to convoy it. That the Clerkship of the Council was sold, and then executed by a Deputy, who for every small Petition took great Fees. That the spiritual Livings were given to ignorant and idle Persons, being the chief Cause of this Rebellion; scarce any Church standing for 60 Miles between *Dublin* and *Athlone*. That they were spoiled as much by the Army as Rebels, no Soldier nor Captain being punished, nor any order given for Remedy taking effect. That private Captains gave Passports to Run-aways, and her Majesty was deceived by false Musters, so as the Forces were weak to end the War, and they were spoiled as much as if the Number were full requiring that some Gentlemen of the Pale might be joined with the Commissaries, in taking the Musters of adjacent Garrisons. In the same Letter her Majesty commanded the Lord Deputy to signify to Sir *Arthur 6 Neal*, that she purposed to create him Earl of *Tyrone*, and give him a Portion of Lands fit for an Earldom. And for *Tyrone*, that the Lord Deputy should proclaim him Traitor, with Promise of 2000*l.* to any should bring him alive, and 1000*l.* to him that should bring his Head to any of her Majesty's Forts or Garrisons. Lastly, her Majesty gave Letters of Favour to the Deputies of the Pale, directed to the Lord Deputy, to whom the Complaints were wholly referred, it being her Majesty's Pleasure, that only before him, and by him, they should be heard and redressed.

Yet because the Lord Deputy was many ways taxed in these Complaints, he did expostulate in

his next Letters to Master Secretary, that he should be taxed for those things, for which he expected Approbation and Thanks. The wisest Counsels (said he) are uncertain, and the wisest Men imperfect, and what shall I look for, when out of my Weakness (though free from Wilfulness) I shall happen to commit any Error of Consequence, seeing I am now charged with so many Matters, and those nothing belonging to me. His Lordship added, that in his Opinion, nothing had made the Affairs of *Ireland* more unprosperous, than that the State used to hear every Man against and before the chief Governor, so as he was driven to let Matters go as they would, so as he might save himself. Another discontented Letter he wrote to the same Effect, and to the same Person, but therein explained other Grievances, besides the former Complaints. And whereas the Lords of the Council had taxed him, for being ruled by young Counsel (whereby he understood his three most familiar Friends to be meant, namely, Sir *Henry Davers*, Sir *Richard Moryson*, and Sir *William Godolphin*) he boldly answered, that besides the Counsellors of State, he used the Familiarity of none, which were not older than *Alexander* the Great, when he conquered the World. Lastly, he protested to Master Secretary, that he took him for his chiefest Friend, and knew that he had more Power to do him good or hurt, than any other, yet as he would not dishonestly lose him, so he would not basely keep him, beseeching him to use his Power, in mediating Licence unto him, that he might come over for a short time, to kiss the Queen's Hand, for touching other Favours concerning the Publick, he would never acknowledge any particular Obligation to him, or to any other, since he made his Demands as he thought best for the Service, but the granting or denying thereof, concerned not him.

The Muster of the Army at Dundalk, before the sitting down at the Faghard Hill.

Note, In the first Column are the Names of the Colonels of the Regiments, in the third a List of the private Men, in the fifth the List by Muster, in the sixth the Number of Irishmen, in the seventh the Number of Swords wanting, in the last the Number of Sick and hurt lying at Dundalk.

Capt. Berry, 472.	The Lord Deputy's	200	Targets 28				
	Guard.		Pikes 32	120	01	00	16
			Shot 60				
Under the Lord Deputy, 400.	The Marshal	150	Targets 4				
	Sir R. Wingfield.		Pikes 39	96	10	30	06
			Shot 53				
	The Serj. Major, Sir Oliv. Lambert.	200	Targets 10				
			Pikes 46	108	08	05	05
			Shot 52				
	Capt. Handferd.	100	Targets 1				
			Pikes 28	79	20	10	06
			Shot 50				
	Capt. Fisher.	100	Targets 3				
			Pikes 21	69	05	20	11
			Shot 45				
	Sir Christopher St. Laurence.	200	Targets 10				
			Pikes 61	141	11	13	14
			Shot 70				12
Sir Christopher St. Laurence, 367.	Sir Henry Folliot.	150	Targets 6				
			Pikes 36	90	15	10	09
			Shot 48				
	Earl of Kildare.	150	Targets 6				
			Pikes 35	81	78	06	14
			Shot 40				
	Sir Francis Shane.	100	Targets 00				
			Pikes 18	55	47	04	08
			Shot 37				

Sir Charles Percy, 336	{	Sir Charles Percy.	200	Targets 10					
				Pikes 54	149	28	30	04	
				Shot 85					
Sir Charles Percy, 336	{	Captain Williams.	150	Targets 00					
				Pikes 37	90	06	03	10	
				Shot 53					
Sir Charles Percy, 336	{	Capt. Roe.	100	Targets 4					
				Pikes 25	59	08	05	01	
				Shot 30					
Sir Charles Percy, 336	{	Captain Staunton.	100	Targets 00					
				Pikes 18	38	00	00	10	
				Shot 20					
Sir Rich. Moryson, 473.	{	Sir Rich. Moryson.	200	Targets 6					
				Pikes 44	118	22	25	36	
				Shot 68					
Sir Rich. Moryson, 473.	{	Sir Henry Davvers.	200	Targets 26					
				Pikes 37	128	12	15	20	
				Shot 65					
Sir Rich. Moryson, 473.	{	Captain Cauldfeild.	150	Targets 07					
				Pikes 32	94	10	10	28	
				Shot 55					
Sir Rich. Moryson, 473.	{	Captain Constable.	100	Targets 3					
				Pikes 25	76	01	12	05	
				Shot 48					
Sir Rich. Moryson, 473.	{	Capt. Ra- venscroft.	100	Targets 3					
				Pikes 24	57	01	23	06	
				Shot 30					
Sir Thomas Bourk, 276	{	Sir Thomas Bourk.	150	Targets 6					
				Pikes 25	85	82	26	14	
				Shot 54					
Sir Thomas Bourk, 276	{	Lord Del- vin.	150	Targets 3					
				Pikes 30	76	74	30	10	
				Shot 43					
Sir Thomas Bourk, 276	{	Sir Henry Harrington	100	Targets 3					
				Pikes 20	40	37	08	12	
				Shot 17					
Sir Thomas Bourk, 276	{	Sir Garret More.	100	Targets 7					
				Pikes 23	75	13	02	08	
				Shot 45					

Sir

Sir Oliver St. John.	150	Targets	10				
		Pikes	33	95	24	15	05
Sir Thomas Wingfield.	150	Shot	52				
		Targets	05				
Sir Oliver St. John,	100	Pikes	29	102	25	20	13
		Shot	68				
370.	100	Targets	03				
		Pikes	24	59	01	04	15
Captain Treavor.	100	Shot	32				
		Targets	06				
The Men of Dublin.	50	Pikes	23	70	01	15	14
		Shot	41				
Sir S. Bag- nol with broken companies and his own.	200	Targets	03				
		Pikes	15	44	40	00	01
Sir S. Bag- nol, 346.	150	Shot	26				
		Targets	18				
Capt. Ef- mond.	150	Pikes	24	200	20	30	00
		Shot	158				
Captain Freckleton.	100	Targets	02				
		Pikes	28	82	15	10	14
	100	Shot	52				
		Targets	03				
	100	Pikes	15	64	03	06	02
		Shot	46				
Total 41501		264017021388,315					

The greatest Part of the Army have neither Armours nor Murrions, neither are here mentioned the Sick and Hurt in other Places besides *Dundalk*, nor yet the Warders allowed out of some of these Companies.

The 14th of *September* his Lordship began another Journey into the North, and the 15th encamped at the Hill of *Faghard*, 3 Miles beyond *Dundalk*, and there his Lordship lay till the 9th of *October*,
in

in such Extremity of Weather, as would have hindred his Passage, if the Enemy had not withstood him, his Lordship's Tent being continually wet, and often blown down. Before his Lordship came, *Tyrone* with his uttermost Strength had possessed the *Moyry*, being a strong Fastness, as any the Rebels had, but his Lordship resolved to march over him, if he stopped his Way, and make him know, that his Kerne could not keep the Fortification against the Queen's Forces. Many Skirmishes fell out happily to us, and two several Days the Rebels were beaten out of their Trenches with great Loss, till at last, upon the 8th of *October*, they left the Passage clear. Then after the Army was a few Days refreshed at *Dundalk*, his Lordship marched the 21st of *October* to the *Newry*, passing through the *Moyry*, where he caused all the Rebels Trenches to be laid flat to the Ground, and the Woods to be cut down on both Sides of the Pace. At the *Newry*, for want of Victuals, his Lordship staid till the 2d of *November*, when he set forward eight Miles towards *Armagh*, and there encamped. The Rebels Horsemen shewed themselves upon a Hill; whereupon Sir *Samuel Bagnol's* Regiment having the Rear, and being not yet come into the Camp, was directed to march towards them, there being a Bog between us and them, but the Rogues quickly drew to their Fastness. The next Morning his Lordship rode some Quarter of a Mile from the Camp, and viewed a Place where Sir *John Norris* formerly intended to build a Fort, and liking his Choice, sat down there with the Army to build the same. The Place is a Hill like a Promontory, all invironed with Bogs, a River, and great Store of Wood. By it on the right Hand over the River and a great Bog, was a little firm Ground, and then another Bog, and over that a fair Country, with Houses

Houses and much Corn. His Lordship could by no means send over any Horse, but four Miles about; wherefore he commanded a Regiment of Foot to advance to the first Piece of firm Ground, and from thence to send over the next Bog some few Men, to bring in the Corn and Timber of the Houses, with Directions to make their Retreat to the Gross, if the Enemies Horses should fall down that Way. On the left Hand and before was a Bog, over the Bog before a great Wood, that continueth through all this Fastness, and over the Bog on the left Hand a Hill, where *Tyrone* all that Day and most of the time that the Army lay there, did muster himself and his Men. This Day most of his Horse and Foot fell over, but far about on the right Hand, upon which, our Stragglers that went out retired to the firm Ground, over the first Bog, and there began between our Foot and theirs, a very good Skirmish, till our Men did beat them off, and brought with them great Store of Corn and Wood, and killed divers of them. In the mean time, their Scouts on the other Side being somewhat busy with ours, *Neal & Quin* was taken Prisoner, being the chief Favourite unto *Tyrone*. The next Day we began to work, in the building of the Fort, and to impeach our Work, the Rogues began to skirmish with us on both Sides, which was excellently maintained by some few of our Men, that we sent out: We saw many of them killed, and after understood they lost a great Number, whereof many were Horsemen, of the best sort, that had lighted to incourage their Men to fight. They were then so well beaten, as they would never after offer to meddle with us, till our Return by *Carlingford*. The 9th of *November* the Fort being finished, his Lordship called it *Mount-Norris*, in Honour of his Master, (so he termed him, under whom he had served his Apprenticeship in the Wars,

Wars,) and he left therein 400 Foot, under the Command of Captain *Edward Blany*, with six Weeks Provision of Victuals.

The Weather grew so extream, as it blew down all our Tents, and tore them in Pieces, and killed many of our Horses, so that the 10th Day his Lordship putting all the Army in Arms, with all the Drums and Trumpets, and a great Volley of Shot, proclaimed *Tyrone's* Head, (with Promise of 2000 *l.* to him that brought him alive, and 1000 *l.* to him that brought him dead,) which was done in the Face of his own Army, and so his Lordship marched to the *Newry*. He had purposed to plant a Garrison at *Armagh* 8 Miles beyond *Mount-Norris*, but the Rebels Cows had eaten up all the Grass thereabouts, which should have fed our Horses, and the time of the Year with the Weather, was now unseasonable for that Purpose.

Carlingford
Fight.

And whereas his Lordship was resolved to return into the Pale by *Carlingford*, to discern whether that Way or the Way of the *Moyry* were more safe, that the Army might not run so continual hazards, this Resolution was now confirmed by Necessity, there being Victuals at *Carlingford*, and none at the *Newry* or *Dundalk*. The 12th of *November* his Lordship came with the Army to the narrow Water, whence he sent Sir *Josias Bodley* with 300 choice Foot to possess a Piece of Ground, and keep the Enemy from hindering our Passage over the Water, the Stream whereof he found so exceeding swift, that it was like to be dangerous to venture our Horses over. The first that tried was Doctor *Latware*, his Lordship's Chaplain, who only with his Horse led by the Boat-side, and with some 30 Foot, went over; but his Lordship perceived so great Difficulty by his Passage, that he passed the Foot over as fast as might be, sent Sir *Henry Folliot* to possess the Pace of the *Faddome*, and made all the Horse and our Garrons

Garrons to go about that Way. In the mean time we might see the Rebels Forces draw over the Mountains towards the Pace of *Carlingford*, and come close by our Men that were first landed, yet they never offered any Skirmish. That Night we encamped directly over the narrow Water, between the Pace of the *Faddome* and the Pace of *Carlingford*, and having at Midnight gotten over for our Men some Victuals, that came by Water from *Carlingford*, his Lordship caused the same to be delivered before Day, for the Army had fasted two Days, and after they had eaten but a little Bisket, and Cheese or Butter, never Men went on in a greater Jollity. The 13th of *November* we were to rise very early, for otherwise we could not pass our Carriages by the Sea Side, as we had determined, and by break of Day the Scoutmaster brought Word that *Tyrone* with all his Army was lodged in the Pace, which is an exceeding thick Wood, at the Foot of a great Mountain, reaching down to the Sea Side, between which and the Sea, there is in most Places as much Space as seven may march in Rank, but in some Places less, and in some none at full Water, but only there is a narrow deep High-way through the Wood.

Captain *Thomas Roper* with the broken Companies sent out of the Pale, went on as a forlorn Hope, and that Day by Course it fell out, that Capt. *Benjamin Berry*, with the Lord Deputy's Regiment under his Command, had the Vanguard, Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, had the Rear of the Van-guard, Sir *Richard Moryson* had the Vanguard of the Rear, and Sir *Samuel Bagnol* the Rear of the Rear, so that we had but two Bodies, a Van-guard and a Rear, thus subdivided. Capt. *Trevor* with as many as Capt. *Roper* had in the Point, led a forlorn Rear. Out of all the Regiments his Lordship appointed three strong Wings
to

to go on the right Hand (for on the left Hand was the Sea,) commanded all by Captains; the first by Capt. *Billings*, the second by Capt. *Esmond*, and the last by Capt. *Constable*.

The Ground the Rebels chiefly chose to make good was a little Plain like a Semicircle, whereof the Sea made the Diameter, and a thick Wood the Circumference. At the next Corner to us there ran into the Sea a River out of the Wood, being a Ford of good Advantage to the Enemy. All along the Circumference they had made divers Trenches, even close up to both the Corners, and at the furthest Corner they had made a Barricado reaching a good Way into the Wood and down to the Sea. At the first they shewed themselves Horse and Foot upon this Plain; but when his Lordship commanded ours to give on (which they performed presently and roundly) their Horse drew off into the Woods, and their Foot into their Trenches, and never shot till the Vanguard was drawn over the River, when from all Parts they poured upon us great Vollies of Shot; but presently Capt. *Roper* gave on the farthest Trench on the right Hand of the Corner, Capt. *Billings* on the next with the Wing heeled, and Capt. *Berry* with the rest of the Vanguard gave upon the farthest Corner, where the Barricado reached from the Wood into the Sea: In some of them they made good resistance, and many of them lost their Lives with the Pike and the Sword: But the last Trench where they made greatest Shew of Opposition they did soonest quit, though it were strongest for them, and to greatest Purpose to arrest us; the Reason his Lordship conceived to be, that in that Place they were furthest from their Retreat, and feared the forlorn Hope and Wing, led by Capt. *Billings*, might cut between them. When we had gained the Trenches the Vanguard made a stand, in the Rear of which, to countenance them (if there had been occasion),
his

his Lordship stood with a Troop of Horse of voluntary Gentlemen, and next to his Lordship (between the Van and next Bodies of Foot) Sir *Henry Davers* and his Lordship's Troops of Horse. At this time they entertained skirmish with all Parts of our Army, but still falling towards the Rear, and at this time his Lordship's Secretary Mr. *George Cranmer* was killed between Sir *William Godolphin* and Mr. *Henry Barkely*, Mr. *Ram* his Lordship's Chaplain's Horse was killed, and a Gentleman of his Lordship's Chamber, called Mr. *Done*, (that carry'd his Cloak) shot through the Leg. And I will not forget one Accident that might have proved of great Consequence: During this Stand, his Lordship rode up to a little Hill in the Edge of the Wood, underneath which our Men were in skirmish with the Rebels, beyond whom, somewhat more than a Musket-shot off, on the Side of a Hill, by a few little Houses, there stood in a Troop some seven or eight Horsemen on Foot with their Horses by them, at whom his Lordship caused his Footman to shoot (who always carried a long Piece with him), who (as within two Hours after it was told his Lordship by one that was at that time one of the Number) killed the next Man to *Tyrone*, on whose Shoulder at that time he leaned. Sir *Henry Davers* came unto his Lordship and desired he might take twenty of his own Horse to fall into the Rear, because he saw all the Enemy's Horse fall thitherward, and that the *Irish* Horse only that Day had the Rear: His Lordship gave him Leave, and withal sent young *James Blount* with 100 Shot out of the Vanguard, Capt. *Caulfeild* and Capt. *Constable* with as many more out of Sir *Richard Moryson's* Regiment to reinforce the Rear, with whom the Rogues continued a good Skirmish almost for half an Hour, until their Horse and Foot coming on a little Plain, somewhat far from

from the Skirt of the Wood, Sir *Henry Davers* charged home and brake them, but in the Beginning of the Charge he was shot in the Thigh. After this Charge they presently drew off their Foot by the Mountains, and their Horse by the Strand over against the narrow Water. In our Rear Capt. *Richard Hansard* and Capt. *Trevor* were sore hurt, and Sir *Garret More's* Ensign and *Hugh Hanlon* killed, and in all we lost not twenty, but above threescore were hurt. Of the Enemy (as we heard then of certain) there were fourscore killed outright, but within two Days after his Lordship understood by *Maguire* that they lost two hundred. The Marshal and the Serjeant Major were always in the Van or Rear as in either Place the Fight grew hottest, and generally all the Commanders and Soldiers served with extraordinary Forwardness and Alacrity. To conclude; by credible Reports the Rebels lost in this Journey above 800, and *Tyrone's* Reputation (who did all Things by his Reputation) was clean overthrown, so that from all Places they began to seek Pardons or Protections. On our Part in the whole Journey some 200 were killed and dead of Hurts, and some 400 were hurt, which shortly after recovered.

Give me Leave to digress a little to continue the Journal of my Travels, the writing whereof hath occasioned the Relation of *Irish* Affairs. When the Earl of *Essex* went Lord Lieutenant into *Ireland*, the Lord *Mountjoy* was first named to that Place, whereupon, by my Brother Sir *Richard Moryson's* Inwardness with him, I then obtained his Lordship's Promise to follow him into *Ireland* in the Place of his chief Secretary: But this Employment failing us both, I retired myself into *Lincolnshire*, where I lived till his Lordship was the last Spring sent over Lord Deputy, and such was then my diffidence of vulgar Reports, (for I had
no

no other Knowledge of his Lordship's Employment), that I did not certainly believe the Change of the Deputy till his Lordship was ready to take his Journey, which was besides extraordinarily hastened by the Queen's Command for the Necessity of her Affairs in that Kingdom; yet my Letter, swifter than myself, came to his Lordship's Hands before his going; and from him I received this honourable Answer, that not knowing what was become of me, he had already received three Secretaries, yet wished me to follow him, for he would find out some fit and good Employment for me. The Indisposition of my Body, by reason of an Ague, stay'd me some few Months in that Country; but in *July*, taking my Journey for *Ireland*, I came to *Cambridge*, whereas yet I was one of the Fellows of *Peter-house*: The Master and Fellows, by special Indulgence, had continued unto me my Place, with leave to travel from the Year 1589, to this present *July*, in the Year 1600: At which time being modest further to importune so loving Friends, and having the foresaid Assurance of Preferment in *Ireland* I yielded up my Fellowship, which in my former Absence had yielded me some 20*l.* yearly: And the Society (to knit up their loving Course towards me) gave me aforehand the Profit of my Place for two Years to come; for which Curtesy, and for my Education there, I must ever acknowledge a strict Bond of Love and Service to each of them in particular, and to the whole Body jointly. From thence I went to *London*, and so to *Westchester*; and whilst I staid there for a Passage I received another Letter, by which I did gather that his Lordship purposed to employ me in the writing of the History or Journal of *Irish* Affairs. But it pleased God in his gracious Providence (which I may never leave unmentioned) to dispose better of me; for staying for a Wind till the End of *September*, one of his Lordship's three

Secretaries (either to avoid the Trouble and Danger of the Wars, or for other Reasons best known to him) came over, and told me that he had left his Lordship's Service. Thus with better Hope of Preferment I crossed the Seas in very tempestuous Weather, (at our putting to Sea the Carcass of a broken Ship swimming by us, and at our entring the Port of *Dublin*, another Ship being cast away in crossing from one Shoar to another, wherein a Bishop and his whole Family were drowned). After few Days spent in *Dublin* I took my Journey to *Dundalk*, on the Northern Borders, where my Brother, Sir *Richard Moryson* was then Governor, and there I lodged till the Lord Deputy's Return with the Army. And the 13th of *November*, being the Day of *Carlingford* Fight above-mentioned, whilst I walked in my Brother's Garden, I sensibly heard by reverberation of the Wall the Sound of the Vollies of Shot in that Skirmish, though the Place were at least six Miles distant. In this Fight the Lord Deputy's chief Secretary, *George Cranmer*, (as is above-mentioned) was killed, and his Lordship having now but only one Secretary, did receive me the next Day at *Dundalk* into *Cranmer's* Place.

I return to the *Irish* Affairs. At *Dundalk* his Lordship received a Letter from the Lord Admiral, signifying that he had earnestly moved her Majesty to give him leave to come over for a short time, whose Answer was, that there lived not any Man that she would be more glad to see than his Lordship; but that now he had begun so worthily, and all things prospered under his Work, she would not give Encouragement to the Rebels by his Absence, whom his Presence had so daunted.

The List of the Army, and the distribution of the same into Garrisons in the End of November.

Twelve Colonels of the Army. The Earl of Thomond; Lord Dunkellin; Sir Henry Dockowra; Sir Arthur Chichester; Sir Henry Power; Sir Charles Percy; Sir Matthew Morgan; Sir Christopher St. Laurence; Sir Charles Wilmot; Sir Arthur Savage; Sir Richard Moryson; Sir John Bolles.

Foot at Carrickfergus. Sir Arthur Chichester, Governor, 150. Sir Foulk Conway, 150. Capt. Richard Croftes, 100. Capt. Charles Egerton, 100. Capt. Gregory Norton, 100.

Horse. Sir Arthur Chichester, 25. Capt. John Jephson, 100.

Foot at Mount-Norris. Capt. Edward Blaney, Governor, 150. Sir Samuel Bagnol, 150. Capt. Henry Athyerton, 150.

Horse at the Newry. Sir Samuel Bagnol, Governor, 50.

Foot. Sir Oliver St. John, 150. Sir Francis Stafford, 200. Capt. Josias Bodley, 150. Capt. Edward Trevor, 100. Capt. Edward Fisher, 100. Capt. Ravenscroft, 100.

Foot at Carlingford. Capt. Richard Hansard, 100.

Foot at Dundalk. Sir Richard Moryson, Governor, 150. Sir Henry Davers, 150. Capt. Toby Caulfeild, 150. Capt. Ferdinand Freckleton, 100. Capt. Ralph Constable, 100.

Horse. Sir Henry Davers, 50.

Foot at *Ardee*. Sir Charles Percy, 150. Sir Garret More, 100. Capt. Thomas Mynne, 100. Capt. Thomas Williams, 150. Capt. Francis Roe, 100.

Horse. Sir Henry Davers, 50. Sir Garret More, 25.

Foot at *Ballymore*. Sir Francis Shane, 100. Capt. Thomas Roper, 150. Capt. Rotheram, 100.

At *Mullingar*. The Lord of *Delvin*, 150 Foot. Sir Christopher St. Laurence, 25 Horse.

At the *Navan*. Sir Thomas Maria Wingfeild, 150 Foot. The Lord Deputy, 100 Horse.

Foot at *Drogheda*. Capt. Billings, 100. Capt. Linley, 100. Capt. Jeffery Dutton, 100. Capt. Morice, 100. Capt. Bentley, 100.

Foot at *Trim*. Sir Christopher St. Laurence, 150. Sir Edward Herbert, 100. Capt. Yelverton, 100.

Foot at *Kells*. The Lord of *Dunsany*, 150. Capt. Hugh ó Reilly, 100.

Horse. Lord of *Dunsany*, 50.

Foot at *Aboy*, *Clancary*, and the Castles of *Ophalia*. Sir Henry Folliot, 150. Capt. Lionel Guest, 150. Sir Henry Warren, 100.

Foot in the Fort of the *Dingon*, and at the *Naas*. Sir George Boucher, 100. The Lord Dunkellin, 150. Sir Henry Harrington, 100. Capt. Thomas Boyse, 100.

Horse at *Newcastle*. Capt. Dogherty, 50. Sir Henry Harrington, 25.

At

At *Athy, Reban*, and the Borders of *Leax*. Sir *Henry Poor*, 150. Sir *James Fitz-piers*, 150. Mr. *Marshal*, 150. Capt. *Philips*, 100. Sir *Thomas Loftus*, 100 Foot.

The *Marshal*, 50 Horse.

Foot in the Forts. Sir *Francis Rush*, 150.

Foot in *Carrol's Country*. Capt. *Mollrony & Carrol*, 100.

Foot and Horse in *Kilkenny*. The Earl of *Ormond*, Lieutenant of the Army, 150. Capt. *Marbery*, 100 Foot. The Earl of *Ormond*, 50 Horse.

Foot and Horse in *Kildare*. The Earl of *Kildare*, 150 Foot. The Earl of *Kildare*, 50 Horse.

Foot and Horse in the County of *Wexford*. Sir *Oliver Lambert*, 150. Capt. *John Masterson*, 100. Capt. *Esmond*, 150 Foot. Sir *Oliver Lambert*, 25 Horse.

Foot at *Dublin*. The Lord Deputy's Guard, commanded by Capt. *Berry*, 150.

Foot and Horse in *Connaught*. Sir *Arthur Savage*, Governor, 150. The Earl of *Clanrickard*, 150. Sir *Thomas Bourk*, 150. Sir *Tibot Dillon*, 100. Capt. *Clare*, 150. Capt. *Tibot ne Long*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Bourgh*, 100 Foot. The Earl of *Clanrickard*, 50. The Lord *Dunkellin*, 25 Horse. The *Marshal* of the Province, 12 Horse.

Horse in the Pale at the Captains disposal, near themselves, or attending their Persons. Sir *Edward Herbert*, 12. Sir *William Warren*, 25. Sir *John Barkeley*, 12. Capt. *Richard Greame*, 50.

Foot at *Ardee*. Sir *Charles Percy*, 150. Sir *Garret More*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Mynne*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Williams*, 150. Capt. *Francis Roe*, 100.

Horse. Sir *Henry Davers*, 50. Sir *Garret More*, 25.

Foot at *Ballymore*. Sir *Francis Shane*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Roper*, 150. Capt. *Rotheram*, 100.

At *Mullingar*. The Lord of *Delvin*, 150 Foot. Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, 25 Horse.

At the *Navan*. Sir *Thomas Maria Wingfeild*, 150 Foot. The Lord Deputy, 100 Horse.

Foot at *Drogheda*. Capt. *Billings*, 100. Capt. *Linley*, 100. Capt. *Jeffery Dutton*, 100. Capt. *Morice*, 100. Capt. *Bentley*, 100.

Foot at *Trim*. Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, 150. Sir *Edward Herbert*, 100. Capt. *Yelverton*, 100.

Foot at *Kells*. The Lord of *Dunfany*, 150. Capt. *Hugh ó Reilly*, 100.

Horse. Lord of *Dunfany*, 50.

Foot at *Aboy*, *Clancary*, and the Castles of *Ophalia*. Sir *Henry Folliot*, 150. Capt. *Lionel Guest*, 150. Sir *Henry Warren*, 100.

Foot in the Fort of the *Dingon*, and at the *Naas*. Sir *George Boucher*, 100. The Lord *Dunkellin*, 150. Sir *Henry Harrington*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Boyse*, 100.

Horse at *Newcastle*. Capt. *Dogherty*, 50. Sir *Henry Harrington*, 25.

At

At *Athy, Reban, and the Borders of Leax.* Sir *Henry Poor*, 150. Sir *James Fitz-piers*, 150. Mr. *Marshal*, 150. Capt. *Philips*, 100. Sir *Thomas Loftus*, 100 Foot.

The Marshal, 50 Horse.

Foot in the Forts. Sir *Francis Rush*, 150.

Foot in *Carrol's Country.* Capt. *Mollrony & Carrol*, 100.

Foot and Horse in *Kilkenny.* The Earl of *Ormond*, Lieutenant of the Army, 150. Capt. *Marbery*, 100 Foot. The Earl of *Ormond*, 50 Horse.

Foot and Horse in *Kildare.* The Earl of *Kildare*, 150 Foot. The Earl of *Kildare*, 50 Horse.

Foot and Horse in the County of *Wexford.* Sir *Oliver Lambert*, 150. Capt. *John Masterfon*, 100. Capt. *Esmond*, 150 Foot. Sir *Oliver Lambert*, 25 Horse.

Foot at *Dublin.* The Lord Deputy's Guard, commanded by Capt. *Berry*, 150.

Foot and Horse in *Connaught.* Sir *Arthur Savage*, Governor, 150. The Earl of *Clanrickard*, 150. Sir *Thomas Bourk*, 150. Sir *Tibot Dillon*, 100. Capt. *Clare*, 150. Capt. *Tibot ne Long*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Bourgh*, 100 Foot. The Earl of *Clanrickard*, 50. The Lord *Dunkellin*, 25 Horse. The Marshal of the Province, 12 Horse.

Horse in the Pale at the Captains disposal, near themselves, or attending their Persons. Sir *Edward Herbert*, 12. Sir *William Warren*, 25. Sir *John Barkeley*, 12. Capt. *Richard Greame*, 50.

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Capt. *Garret Fleming*, 25. Capt. *Pigot*, 12. Capt. *Darcy*, 25.

At *Loughfoyle*, a remote Garrison under Sir *Henry Dockwra*'s Command. Sir *Henry Dockwra*, 50. Sir *John Bolles*, 50 Horse. Foot under 25 Captains, 2900.

In the Province of *Munster* at the Lord President's Disposal. The Lord President, 50. Sir *Anthony Cooke*, 50. Capt. *William Taaf*, 25 Horse. Foot under 23 Captains, 2800.

Total of Horse, 1198

Total of Foot, 14150

From *Dundalk*, the Lord Deputy, with his Servants and voluntary Horsemen, rode to *Dublin* the 17th of *Novemb.* Within few Days, upon Sir *Arthur Savage*'s Entreaty to go for *England*, about his private Affairs, his Lordship gave him Licence, and appointed Sir *John Barkeley* to supply his Place of provisionary Governor of the Province of *Connaught*: At the same time his Lordship wrote into *England* for Authority to pass unto certain Submittees their Countries, with reservation of her Majesty's Rights, and some other Conditions for her Profit and Service, more particularly on the Behalf of *Connor Roe Mac Guire*, who being put from the Chiefry of his Country by *Tyrone*, had quitted all his Possessions and Goods to come to the Queen's Service when *Tyrone* had two of his Sons for Pledges, of which the elder lately escaping from the Rebels had likewise submitted himself, and they both had served valiantly in the late Northern Journey; so as the Father had his Horse killed under him, and the Son killed three Rebels with his own Hand; and from thence, both going into *Fermanagh*, had drawn

drawn many of that Country to follow them in the Queen's Service, diverting all the Country from assisting *Tyrone*: Besides that, in a late Skirmish they had taken *Cormock*, *Tyrone's* Brother's eldest Son, a young Man of the greatest Hope in the North, whom the Rebels purposed to create *ô Neal* after *Tyrone's* Death, for which Respect he was a better Pledge than any of *Tyrone's* Sons. This Youth they had brought to the Lord Deputy, with great Hazard to convoy him, and that when 3000*l.* and other ample Conditions were offered them for his Ransom. In the same Month of *November* many of the Northern Rebels with great Troops, (among them a *Munster*-man, *Piers Lacy*, of *English* Race, a famous Rebel), drew into the *Brenny*, meaning to pass to the *Shannon*-side, and so into *Munster*, after they had strengthened the broken Rebels of the Pale with some Assistance: But this their Passage was so stopped as it took no effect. The 6th of *December* his Lordship was advertised from an honourable Friend in Court, that his late Proceedings were mentioned by all Men with much Honour, and most of all by the Queen, who uttered to himself the most gracious and kind Speeches of his Lordship, and the most extolling his Valour and worthy Parts, that ever he had heard her use of any.

Till this Time, the Rebels of the Mountains near *Dublin*, called the *Glynns*, gave alarms almost every Night in the Suburbs of *Dublin*. But the Time when the Insolency of some of them should be chastened, was now come. The *ô Birns* having *Phelim mac Feogh*, the chief of their Sept, after the Death of *Feogh mac Hugh*, (formerly mentioned) inhabited the *Glynns* bordering on the Plains of *Dublin*, extending some four or five Miles that Way; and these being nearer than the *ô Tools* and other their Confederates, were most insolent upon

that City, and the Council, there residing, when the Lord Deputy was far off in any Service with the Horsemen. Now his Lordship was purposed to scourge them, and according to his singular Secrecy, did so keep his Council from divulging, and so cunningly masked his intent, as he came upon them, when they were most secure. It was confidently given out, that his Lordship meant presently to undertake some Service against the *ó Mores* of *Leax*, and *ó Connors* of *O Phalia*, and to that purpose meant to lie with his Household at *Monastreven*, a great House kept by a Constable for the Queen: Yea to make this Project more believed, his Lordship sent Arras hangings, and many Provisions to that House. And now the Forces having been refreshed, his Lordship the 22d. of *December*, being *Monday*, rode to the *Naas* 12 Miles distant from *Dublin*, where the Rendezvous was appointed that Day for the *Leinster* Garrisons, (for it was fit those bordering on the North, should be left strong.) On *Wednesday* his Lordship sent most of his Household right forward to *Monastreven* 13 Miles distant; but himself with the rest of his Servants and the Forces, suddenly turned on the left Hand into the *Glynns*, and after a Day and Night's tedious March, over steep Mountains covered with Snow, he arrived on *Thursday* being *Christmas-day*, at *Phelim mac Feogh* his House, so suddenly as his Wife and eldest Son were taken, and himself hardly escaped at a back Window, and naked, into the Woods, where he kept a cold Christmas, while my Lord lived plentifully in his House, with such Provisions as were made, for him and his *Bonnaghs* and *Kern* to keep a merry Christmas. To vent his Anger, he daily offered slight Skirmishes upon Advantage, but his Heart was nothing eased therewith, being continually beaten. His Lordship with the Queen's Forces, lay in this Country till about the 20th of *January*:

January: In which Time his Troops spoiled and ranfacked the Countries of *Rannelagh* and *Cashay*, swept away the most part of their Cattle and Goods, burnt all their Corn, and almost all their Houses, leaving little or nothing to relieve them; and to finish the Work, his Lordship planted two strong Garrisons upon them, the one at *Wicklow* on the East side, (not able to come nearer, because a Ship with our Tools and Instruments was beaten back by ill Weather, and could not arrive in Time); the other at *Tullogh* upon the West, so as they could not long hold from submitting or flying, being thus hedged in.

This done, his Lordship came to *Monastreven*, with Purpose to undertake the *Mores* and *Connors*. But having in few Days settled a Correspondency for proceeding in that Service, between our Forces in those Parts, and the neighbouring Septs of *ó Dempfies*, and some suspected Subjects, of whose Faith till then his Lordship stood not assured, and discerning the *Mores* to be weak in *Leax*, after the killing of their Chieftain *Owny mac Rory*, and the burning and spoiling in the *Leax* Journey, so as they had not Means to keep their Bonnaghts, and hearing that the *ó Connors* were fled far from that Part of *Ophaly*, so as neither of them could be found to make Resistance to any reasonable strong Forces. His Lordship leaving in these Parts some few Companies to assist the Subjects, rode from *Monastreven* the 29th of *January* to *Abiconal*, nine Miles, passing by the ruined City of *Kildare*, now altogether disinhabited. The 30th we passed the *Liffey*, and came to *Milbussy*, one Master *Hussy's* Castle, 11 Miles, passing by some pleasant Villages, and by *Minuth*, a fair House, belonging to the Earls of *Kildare*, now in the Hands of the Countess *Mabel* an old Widow. The 31st. we came to *Trim*, 8 Miles Champion Ground. This is a pleasant Town for a Seat, if the Inhabitants were suitable,

ble, through which the *Boyne* runs, and it hath the Ruins of a sumptuous Castle. This Place his Lordship thought fittest for his present Residence: For if Captain *Tirrel* (now the Chief Rebel in *Ophalia*) should draw his Force to the South of the Country, from hence his Lordship might easily fall back on him. If the Rebels in the West desired to pass into *Munster* (as they intended), then our Forces were so disposed, as they could not escape without fighting with us upon Disadvantage to them. And if neither fell out, then his Lordship purposed to plant a Garrison at the *Cavan* in the *Brenny*, and to settle our above-mentioned *mac Gwire* in *Fermanagh*.

At this time his Lordship desired to have authority out of *England*, to pass *Tyrconnel* (the County of *ô Donnel*) to *Neal Garve*, reserving 800 Acres about *Ballishannon*, and the fishing of the *Erne* to her Majesty. And such was the Opinion of the Service his turbulent Spirit could do the State, as he had the Grant of 300 Foot, and 100 Horse in her Majesty's Pay, on Condition he should bring the Men serviceable, and maintain them so, without further Charge to her Majesty.

From *Trim*, lying in *East-Meath*, his Lordship the 11th of *February*, passing by the Baron of *Tremblestown*'s House, rode to the Lord of *Delvin*'s House in *West-Meath*, 11 Miles distant. The 12th we passed 10 Miles further to *Mullingar*, the Shire-town of *West-Meath*, compassed with Bogs. Thence the 14th, we went to *Ballymore*, Sir *Francis Shane*'s House, 10 long Miles. The 16th to Sir *Tibbot Dillon*'s House, 7 Miles. Thence the 17th to *Athlone*, 5 Miles, where the Governor of the Province of *Connaught* useth to lye in a strong Castle belonging to her Majesty, which being situate in *Connaught*, is divided from the Town by a River and a fair Bridge of Stone with 8 Arches, lying

ingin *West-meath*. And all this Country is Champion, whereof the greatest Part lay waste. His Lordship returned back the 18th of *February* to Sir *Tibbot Dillon's* House, and the 19th to *Danoar* 12 Miles, being *Bryan mac Gobagan's* Castle in *West-Meath*.

While his Lordship lay in this Castle, he rode forth the 20th of *February*, to view a strong hold, seated in a Plain, and in a little Island, compassed with Bogs and deep Ditches of running Water, and thick Woods, in which fastness Captain *Tirrel*, with some of the boldest Rebels then lay. At the first Approach to the Bog, two shot of the Rebels came out, our Horsemen then standing on a Hill, moved continually, but my self being a raw Soldier, stood still, and because I had a white Horse, I gave the Rebels a fair mark, so as the first shot flew close by my Head, and when I apprehending my Danger, turned my Horse, the second flew through my Cloak, and lit on my Pad Saddle, (which saved my Life,) and bruised my Thigh. Presently his Lordship sent Sir *Christopher St. Lawrence*, Captain *Winsor*, Captain *Roper*, and Captain *Rotheram*, with Wings of Foot into the Wood, to discover the fortified Island. And on the other side sent Captain *Leg* to the same Purpose. While these skirmished with the Rebels lying intrenched, Master *Darcy* riding by the skirt of the Wood, was shot in the Neck. The 22d. Day his Lordship drew forth again, and we carried Hurls and Fagots to pass into the Island, but the Water carrying them away, and his Lordship's Guard being not well seconded by the *Irish*, we came off with Loss, and Captain *Rotheram* was shot.

Before I proceed, I must digress a little to other Matters. In this Journey (begun the 22d. of *December*) his Lordship received commandment to Pardon all such in *Munster* as should require it, and should be commended by the Lord President, with Assurance

Assurance that *Spain* was so intangled with the War of *Savoy*, as the *Irish* Rebels could at this time have small Succour thence. His Lordship writ to Master Secretary to procure him leave to start over into *England*, to kiss the Queen's Hands, and to confer with him about the *Irish* Service, professing that he reputed him his honourable Friend, and did much disdain that Humour in any Subject (if any such were) which would think him tied by any Respect, from having his Affection free to love him. In the beginning of *February*, the Lord President of *Munster*, excused himself to the Lord Deputy, that he had made stay of some Forces his Lordship had directed to come from thence, because he had Intelligence that some Northern Rebels were sent to invade *Munster*. But his Lordship knowing that he had stopped their Passage, and that they could not go with any great Numbers, if perchance they escaped, did again require that these Forces might be sent unto him. At this time, there was a Plot for *Tyrone's* Head, the managing whereof was commended to Sir *Richard Moryson* Governor of *Dundalk*, whither Sir *William Godolphin* was sent with his Troop of Horse, to second this Plot, which took not the wished Effect; the undertaker *Henry Oge ó Neal* failing in his Courage, or in his Faith.

Now I will return to his Lordship's Actions while he lay at *Maghogans* Castle. The same 22d. of *February*, his Lordship received a Packet out of *England*, by which he understood that the Earl of *Essex* was committed to the Tower for Treason, which much dismayed him and his nearest Friends, and wrought strange Alteration in him: For whereas before he stood upon terms of honour with the Secretary, now he fell flat to the Ground, and insinuated himself into inward love, and to an absolute dependency with the Secretary, so as for a time he estranged himself from two of his nearest Friends, for the open Declaration they had made of Dependency

dency on the Earl of *Essex*; yet rather covering, than extinguishing his good Affection to them. It is not credible that the Influence of the Earl's malignant Star, should work upon so poor a Snake as myself, being almost a Stranger to him, yet my nearness in Blood to one of his Lordship's above named Friends, made it perhaps seem to his Lordship improper, to use my Service in such nearness, as his Lordship had promised and begun to do. So as the next Day he took his most secret Papers out of my Hand, yet giving them to no other, but keeping them in his own Cabinet: And this blow I never fully recovered while I stayed in *Ireland*. In truth his Lordship had good Cause to be wary in his Words and Actions, since by some Confessions in *England*, himself was tainted with Privity to the Earl's Practices, so that howsoever he continued still to importune leave to come over; yet no doubt he meant nothing less, but rather (if he had been sent for) was purposed with his said Friends to sail into *France*, they having privately fitted themselves with Money and Necessaries thereunto. For howsoever his Lordship were not dangerously engaged therein, yet he was (as he privately professed) fully resolved not to put his Neck under the Fyle of the Queen's Attorney's Tongue. But his Lordship's former Service, and the Necessity of his future Employment, together with his good Success, so strengthened him, as without great Unthankfulness, and popular Obloquy, he could not have been questioned upon this weak Ground.

The same 22d. of *February*, his Lordship in Council resolved to proclaim, that all such as had any Rebels Goods, should discover them, or be guilty of Treason: That none upon pain of Death should parley with the Rebels: That the Country should bring in Victuals to the Camp, which no Man (upon pain of Death) should take from them

them without paying the Price of the Market. And thus purposing to force the Rebels out of the fortified Island, and then to plant a Garrison at the Abbey near adjoining; and to charge the new submitted Subjects to join with this Garrison in the Service, as also to take order for the safe victualling of the same when he should be gone, his Lordship resolved the next Day to make another Attempt against the Island wherein *Tirrel* lay, preparing all things to second the same, and taking order to bring Victuals to the Camp from all parts, and especially from *Athlone* by Boats.

The 23d. of *February*, his Lordship drew forth to the Abbey, where he had lodged 400 Soldiers, there he dined and proclaimed *Tirrel's* Head at two thousand Crowns, and after Dinner drawing to the Island, he divided the Forces, sending part to put Boats into the Water, and so to assail the Island, and causing the rest to be led into the Woods to fetch out the Rebels Corn, and to burn the Houses, and such things for their Relief, as they could not bring away. The 24th of *February*, being *Shrove-Tuesday*, there fell a great Snow, so that we were forced to lie still, and the next Night the Rebels did steal away, leaving the Island to his Lordship, where the next Day we found much Corn, some Murrions and Pieces, 8 Cows, and some Garrons.

The 26th his Lordship drew the Forces beyond the Island, into a pleasant Valley, wherein was a ruined House of Sir *Edward Herbert's*, and the Ground was well plowed by the Rebels. Our Men burnt Houses and Corn, and his Lordship gave an Angel to a Soldier to swim over the Water, and burn the Houses in another Island. Then we came to a River, which divideth *West-Meath* and *Ophaly*; into which Country his Lordship sent divers Companies under Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, to spoil the same. The 27th, his Lordship rode 6
Miles

Miles to Sir *John Tirrel's*, a strong Castle, we passed by the Way *Tirrel's Pace*, compassed with Bogs and hilly Woods. This Knight was a Subject, and here his Lordship rested the next Day. The first of *March* his Lordship rode to *Klonegave*, the House of Sir *Terrence o Dempsey* in *Ophalia*, being twelve Miles; in the first Part whereof we passed a dangerous part of *Tirrel's* fastness.

Here his Lordship received a gracious Letter from her Majesty, whereby she made known unto him the Earl of *Essex* his Death, and (to use her own Words) professed, that in Regard of his approved Fidelity and Love, it was some Alleviation of her Grief, to ejaculate the same to him. First, her Majesty required him to look well in general, upon the Dispositions of all his Captains, whereof, some preferred by the Earl, might perhaps have hollow Hearts towards her Service, for as she was pleased to pardon those, who by his popular Fashion and outward Profession of his Sincerity had been seduced, and blindly led by him; so she was careful to sever the Chaff from the Corn, and to deprive the malicious of means to prejudice her Service. Secondly, whereas the Secretary in his Lordship's name had moved her Majesty, that he might have Warrant to come over; yet in Regard the *Spanish* Ships had not yet passed the narrow Seas into *Flanders* (whither surely they were sent, and nothing less than for *Ireland*, howsoever the Traitor made use of like Rumours) her Majesty wished that he would conceal this his Desire for a time, with promise to call him home the next Winter, and use his service near her Person.

The same time his Lordship received Letters from the Lords in *England*, giving Allowance in her Majesty's Name, for the passing of *Tyrconnel* to *Neal Garve*, upon the above-mentioned Conditions; yet advising that hereafter no Country should so absolutely

lutely be passed, as all the Inhabitants should depend upon one Man, which would still kindle new Flames of Rebellion. By the same Letters his Lordship understood, that the Supplies of Money, Victuals, and Munitions, were ready according to his Demands. And their Lordships advised the Plantation of a Garrison about *Strangford*, to prevent the Assistance which the *Scots* gave to the Rebels. The third of *March* his Lordship rode 10 Miles to *Bally Britton*, Sir *Henry Warren's* House in *Leax*, which was kept for the Queen by a Constable and Warders. In the mid Way we passed by *Philipstown* (otherwise called *Dynge*) a strong Fort in *Ophalia* (otherwise called the *King's County*) and that Day his Lordship sent out many Parties of Soldiers into the Woods, against *Turrel* and the *Connors*, scatteredly lurking in those Parts.

Here his Lordship received from the Lords, Directions to descry the Silver Money, and to proclaim a new Coin, 3 Ounces fine; which base Money was sent over, only to impoverish the Rebels (as was pretended) who made War against the Queen with her own Treasure; but in Conclusion it was the undoing of all the Queen's Servants there, for no Man cared to lay it up, and all things were bought at excessive Rates, after the exchange in *England* once failed. This Exchange was proclaimed to be held at 3 Cities in *England*, and 4 in *Ireland*; but by reason that great Sums were coined by Rebels and Strangers, and for other Abuses of the same, as namely of the Merchants; who notwithstanding that the Money was duly changed, did excessively raise all Prices, this Exchange soon failed, and our Hearts therewith: for we served there in Discomfort, and came home Beggars, so that only the Treasurers and Paymasters, (who were thereby infinitely enriched, had cause to bless the Authors of this Invention.

The

The 4th of *March* his Lordship rode 5 Miles to Sir *Edward Fitzgerald's* House, scituate in *Meath*, in a pleasant and fruitful Country. The 5th of *March* we rode 10 Miles to *Moymeere*, a very pleasant House, belonging to Sir *James Dillon*, and thence the next Day two Miles further to *Trim*. Sir *Richard Moryson* Governor of *Dundalk*, had lately advertised his Lordship, that *Turlogh mac Henry*, *Tyrone's* Brother, Captain of the *Fewes*, had taken his oath to him, before a Priest and upon a Mass-book that he would submit himself to her Majesty's Mercy, without any Conditions at or before *St. Patrick's* Day next following. And further had advertised that the Lord of *Clancarvin* humbly desired to be received to mercy with him. For better ratifying hereof, the said Sir *Richard Moryson* now brought the said *Turlogh* in Person to his Lordship lying at *Trim*. The 15th of *March* his Lordship drew to *Arbrachin*, the Bishop of *Meath's* House, 6 Miles distant, where his Lordship had appointed the adjoining Garrisons to meet him the next Day; and presently after their Arrival, his Lordship took Horse towards Evening, and thence we marched all Night, being very dark, and in the Morning suddenly fell into the *Ferney*, the Possession whereof *Ever mac Cooly*, one of the *mac Mahown's* then usurped, and there we burnt the Houses and spoiled the Goods of the Inhabitants, Sir *Richard Moryson* Governor of *Dundalk*, with that Garrison, and Sir *Oliver Lambert* with other Troops, and Captain *Thomas Williams* with the Forces of *Ardee* coming in divers ways, and meeting his Lordship in that Country, with small or no Resistance made by the Rebels, to either Party. The 19th we marched five Miles to *Ardee*, the 27th 7 Miles to *Mellifant*, Sir *Edward More's* House, the 21st. two Miles to *Drogheda*, where his Lordship stayed till the 16th of *April*, and so returned to *Dublin*.

At *Drogheda* his Lordship altered the list of the Foot, the Horse standing still as before.

The disposal of the Foot into Garrisons the 23d. of March, 1600.

At the *Newry* under Sir *Oliver St. Johns* 750. At *Carlingford* Captain *Hansard* 100. At *Mount Norris* under Sir *Samuel Bagnol* 450. At *Dundalk* under Sir *Richard Moryson* 400. At *Ardee* a refreshing but no standing Garrison 350. At *Luscannon* 400. At *Tullagh* 350. At *Wicklow* 250. At the *Navan* 300. At the *Naas* 100. In *West-meath* 450. In *Ophaly* 200. In *Leax* 300. At *Athy* 100. At *Monastreven* 300.

In *Connaught*.

Sir *John Barkeley* Deputy Governor 200. The Lord of *Dunkellin* now upon his Father's Death Earl of *Clanrickard* 150. More under four Captains 500.

Foot in *Galway* and *ô Doyne's Country*.

Three Captains 400. Captain *Thomas Roper* 150. At *Reban* 150. In *ô Carrol's Country* 100. In *Kildare* 150. At *Dublin* the Lord Deputy's Guard 200. At *Carrickfergus* under Sir *Arthur Chichester* 550. Of new Companies 1150. being cast, and 50. made over to *Loughfoyle* Garrison, remained 800. Of Sir *Charles Pierce's* Company, 100 were made over to other Captains, and 50 were added to *Loughfoyle* Garrison. These Companies together with the Foot in *Munster* and at *Loughfoyle*, do make the new list of Foot 13250.

Her

Her Majesty's Charge in Ireland from the first of April, in the Beginning of the Year 1600, to the last of March, in the Beginning of the Year 1601.

Her Majesty's Allowances by Establishment, and by her Letters for Increase, amount to 276914 *l.* 9 *s.* 4 *d.* ob. *qu. demy.*

Hereof saved by the Lord Deputy's Providence, 15262 *l.* 5 *s.* 5 *d.*

Saved also by Checks imposed on the Army, 17029 *l.* 16 *s.* 9 *d.* ob.

So her Majesty's Charge for the Army this Year, besides Munition and like Extraordinaries, amounteth to 234622 *l.* 5 *s.* 2 *d.* *qu. demy.*

It remains briefly to collect (out of the Lord President's Letters to the Lord Deputy), the Services done in *Munster*. *Munster.*
Munster the Year 1600 now ended. About the 16th of *April*, in the Beginning of the Year 1600, Sir George Carew, Lord President of *Munster*, departing from *Kilkenny*, where he had been some Days detained by the Earl of *Ormond*'s Surprisal at a Parley with the Rebels, came to *Waterford*. And Thomas Fitz-James, Bastard Son to James Fitzgerald late Lord of the Decies, chief Rebel in the County of *Waterford*, fearing present Prosecution, made Suit to be received to her Majesty's Mercy, which the Lord President granted, as well to draw from the titular Earl of *Desmond* some Part of his Strength, as to open the Passage between *Waterford* and *Youghall* by Land, formerly shut up, so as nothing could pass any Way but by Sea. The 23d of *April*, at *Dungarven* his Lordship received advertisement that Florence Mac Carty, after many Favours from the State, being wholly hispaniolised, had great Power in *Carbry* and *Desmond*, and ac-

according to his Plot with *Tyrone* at his being there, was entered into open Action, (so they term Rebellion): That Capt. *Flower*, Serjeant-Major of *Munster*, had hereupon entered *Carbry* with 1200 Foot and 100 Horse, burning and spoiling the same, and killing many Rebels: That *Florence* had levied of the Provincials and Bonnaghs (so they called waged Soldiers) 2000 Foot, yet never attempted the *English*, till in their Return they came within five Miles of *Cork*, where in a Fastness, the Mid-way between *Cork* and *Kinsale*, they assailed the *English*, and were beaten by them, some 100 of the Rebels being slain, in which Conflict Capt. *Flower* had two Horses slain under him. The 24th the Lord President came to *Cork*, where he received the State of the Province by the relation of Sir *Henry Pore* sole Commissioner for *Munster*, (since the killing of his Partner, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, by *Mac Guire*, likewise killed in the Fight) and understood the Rebels to be strong and Masters of the Field, supplied with all Necessaries from the Towns thro' the Persuasion of Priests, and the Covetousness of the Townsmen. About this time *Fitzgibbon*, called the *White Knight*, either ill used by *Tyrone* at his being in *Munster*, or fearing Prosecution, submitted himself to her Majesty's Mercy. Likewise *Florence Mac Carty*, by Persuasion of Friends, and upon safe Conduct, came to the Lord President, and protested Loyalty to her Majesty, but refused to give his Son for pledge, lest his waged Soldiers should cast him out of his Country, till his Lordship threatened to lay aside all other Service sharply to prosecute him, whereupon he consented for his Pledge, but required to have the County of *Desmond* given to him and his Heirs, with title of *mac Carty More*, or Earl of *Clancar*, with like high Demands, which being rejected, he desired leave to sue for these Graces in *England*, with promise not to serve against her Majesty's Forces in the mean

mean time, wherewith the Lord President was satisfied, having no other end for the Present, than to make him stand neutral, while the whole Forces were employed against the titular Earl of *Desmond*, *James Fitz-thomas*, called the Suggon Earl by Nick-name. Now one *Dermot ó Connor*, having no Lands, yet by Marriage with the Daughter of the Old Earl of *Desmond* and his great Valour, had the leading of 1400 Bonnaghs. And because the Lord President hoped to ruin the Rebels one by another; at this time by the Wife of the said *Dermot* and other Agents his Lordship plotted with him, upon promise of great Rewards to kill *James* the titular Earl of *Desmond*: And in like sort, one *John Nugent* a Rebel, upon Promise of Pardon and Reward, did within few Days undertake to kill *John* the said Earl's Brother. About the Beginning of *May Redman Bourke* leading 500 Rebels, lost 120 of them while he adventured to take a Prey in *ó Duirs* Country, and being nourished by the Lord President, with hope to be Baron of *Leitrim*, drew his Men out of *Munster* into *Ormond*, with purpose to lead them into *Connaught*: And *Tirrel* Leader of the Northern Men, stayed not long behind him, pretending Discontent against *Dermot ó Connor*, but indeed fearing some Plot against his Head. It had been long rumoured that the Lord President would take the Field the 6th of *May*, which made the Rebels draw to a head and spend their Victuals, so as after 10 Days they were forced to disperse themselves. The 20th of *May* the Lord President took the Field, and marching towards *Limerick*, settled Warders in some Castles to secure the Passage thither from *Kilmallock*. At *Limerick* his Lordship understood that *John Nugent* above-named, being ready (as he had undertaken) to kill *John* Brother to the titular Earl of *Desmond*, was by accident hindered from discharging his Pistol, and being apprehended, was put to Death; but as well *John* as the

titulary Earl his Brother, were so terrified herewith, as they durst never keep together, and thought themselves least secure in the Head of their own Men from like Practices. The Lord President marched into *John Bourke's* Country, and spoiling the same, forced him to seek her Majesty's Mercy on his Knees, which at last he obtained, though with Difficulty. His Lordship having gained here plenty of Grain for the Army, sent 500 Foot into *Omulrian's* Country, who spoiled the same, and killed many Rebels. Then his Lordship returned to *Limerick* without any Loss, and in the beginning of *June* divided the Army into Garrisons not far distant, which his Lordship did though the time were fit for Service, that he might attend the Plot with *Dermot ô Connor* for killing the titulary Earl of *Desmond* which could not well be done, except the Rebels were dispersed, who would keep together as long as the *English* Army was in the Field. Besides, his Lordship upon their breaking, took advantage to settle a Garrison at *Asketon* without any Resistance. *Dermot ô Connor* took the titulary Earl Prisoner in the name of *ô Neal*, pretending by a forged Letter that he had plotted his Death with the Lord President, and presently sent his Wife for the Money promised in Reward, wishing the Lord President to draw his Forces to *Kilmallock*, where he would deliver him the Prisoner, which his Lordship did accordingly the 16th of *June*, but the Rebels having notice hereof, drew together 4000 in Number, stopped the Passages, set the titulary Earl at Liberty, and besieged *Dermot ô Connor* in a Castle, till the Lord President marching thither the 29th of *June*, forced them to leave the Siege. His Lordship kept the Field, took the chief Castle of the Knight of the Valley, wherein were slain 60 Warders, took other Castles, and did many good Services, the Rebels in great number lying near him, but never offering to fight, by
Reason

Reason of the Jealousies between them, whereupon 2500 *Connaught* Men were Suitors to his Lordship to return home without Impediment from his Forces. At this time *ô Connor Kerry* yielded his Castle to the Queen, and was received to Mercy, and the Lord President at last granted a Pass to the Rebels of *Connaught*, but the Lord *Bourke* not knowing thereof, for a private Revenge, set upon them as they marched home, and slew 60 of them, besides many drowned. The 16th of *July* the Lord President bestowed the Army in Garrisons: The 23d. of *July* his Lordship took the Field again, to relieve the Men he had formerly sent into *Kerry*, and marching thither, took *Lexnaw* the chief House of the Lord *Fitz-morrice*, and many other Castles, for Grief whereof the said Lord died, yet leaving a Son then as dangerous as himself. The Lord President returned to *Cork* about the 18th of *August*, leaving Sir *Charles Wilmot* Governor of *Kerry*, a valiant Gentleman, a chief Commander under him, and in the first Rank of those Instruments he used in all Services, who in short time brought most of the Freeholders of *Kerry* to due Subjection, and drove the titular *Desmond* out of those parts. All the Garrisons in time of Harvest, gathered as much Corn as they could, and destroyed the rest, which made the Rebels not able to subsist the Year following. Sir *George Thornton* hearing that the titular Earl of *Desmond* passed near *Kilmallock* sent the Garrison out, and Capt. *Greame* charging them with his Troop of Horse, killed 120 of them, in which Conflict the *English* got 300 Garrons laden with Baggage, 150 Pikes and Pieces, with other Weapons, and 40 Horse, but the *English* had 16 Horses killed in the Fight. The titular Earl of *Desmond*, could never after draw 100 Men together, and was forced to fly into *Tipperary* with his Brother *John*, *Pierce Lacy* an arch Rebel, and the

Knight of the *Glin*, whence his Brother *John* hasted into *Ulster* for Relief from *Tyrone*. And in the end of this Summer upon the departure of the *Bonnaghs* of *Connaught* and *Ulster*, and the good Success of the *English*, many of the Provincials submitted themselves, yet sent to *Rome* for a Dispensation of their so doing. About the midst of *October* *James Fitz-gerald* (who had long been imprisoned in the Tower of *London*, being the next and true Heir to the last Earl of *Desmond*, and released by the Queen with Title of Earl by Letters Patents sent to the Lord President, and Promise of a good Proportion of Land to support his Dignity at the end of the War, according to his Deserts in her Majesty's Service, and in the mean time to live upon Pay in the Army) landed at *Youghal*, and the 18th Day came to the Lord President at *Mallogh*, and was industrious in the Queen's Service. *Dermodó Connor* being in *Connaught*, and hearing of the young Earl of *Desmond's* Arrival, upon Promise of great Services had the Lord President's Protection to come unto him, but was set upon by *Tibot ne Long*, his Men defeated, he taken and hanged, whereupon *Tibot* having then a Company in her Majesty's Pay was cashired. *Florence mac Carty* having all this while practised underhand many things against the State, and putting still off his Appearance by dilatory Excuses, at last in *October* by the Desperateness of his Estate was forced to submit, and obtained Pardon upon Pledges of his Loyalty. The titular Earl of *Desmond* stealing back into *Munster* lived as a Wood-kern, never having more than two or three in his Company.

In *November*, Sir *Charles Wilmot* took the last and only Castle the Lord *Mac Morrice* had in *Kerry*, and his eldest Son therein (betrayed by a Priest for Safety of his Life) and great Provisions laid up in that Castle. In these two last Months Sir *Richard Percy* lying in Garrison at *Kinsale*, twice passed in-

to the Country, and took Preys of 500 Cows, killing many Rebels. In *December* the Lord President had Notice where the titular Earl lurked, and sent Men to surprize him; but he escaped in such haste, as he left his Shoes behind him. And now there was not a Castle in *Munster* held for the Rebels, nor any Company of 10 Rebels together, though there wanted not loose Vagabonds dispersed in all Corners, so as his Lordship had leisure to look into the Corporate Towns, being Aiders, Abettors, and Procurers underhand of this Rebellion, all the Queen's Treasure being spent in them by the Soldiers, and they underhand supplying the Rebels with all Necessaries, though at excessive Rates. The Rebels fled out of *Munster* into *Tipperary* and *Ormond*, had hitherto lived there among the *Bullers*, being Subjects, without any Disturbance, the rather for the Earl of *Ormond's* mourning for the Death of his most worthy and virtuous Lady: But in *January* his Lordship sent some Forces against them, who killed many, and forced the rest to fly, whereof some were drowned passing the Waters then very high, and some chief Rebels were taken and hanged at *Kilkenny*. About the End of *January*, the Lord President sent 1000 Foot of the *Munster* List, to be disposed by the Lord Deputy, as he had Direction to do. His Lordship to settle the Country the better, refused to renew any Protections, so as all were forced to sue their Pardons, and in two Months Space before the End of *February*, upon his Lordship's Recommendation, more than 4000 *Munster* Men had their Pardons, granted by the Lord Deputy, and passed under the great Seal.



THE
REBELLION
OF
HUGH, Earl of Tyrone, &c.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Lord Deputy's particular Proceedings in the Prosecution of the Rebels, and of the Spaniards invading Ireland, in the Year 1601.

WHILE the Lord Deputy lay at *Drogheda* (namely, from the 21st of *March*, till the 16th of *April*, upon which Day he returned to *Dublin*,) his Lordship assembled the Counsellors of State to attend him there. And upon the 28th of *March*, 1601, the Lord Deputy and Council wrote from *Drogheda* (vulgarly called *Tredagh*) their joint Letters to the Lords in *England*, whereby they advertised, that the Lord Deputy having spent the greatest Part of Winter in the *Irish* Countries of *Leinster*, had by burning their Corn, consuming their Cattle, and killing

killing many of them, so scattered their main Strength, as certain of the Chief had since submitted to the Queen's Mercy, and the rest were severed into small Companies, and unlike to draw to any dangerous Head; yea, *Tirrel*, in Opinion the greatest among them (taken for *Tyrone's* Lieutenant in *Leinster*,) being forced out of his greatest Fastness, now with a few base Kerne following him, was driven to wander in Woods and Bogs, seeking to escape into the North (as shortly after he did, notwithstanding that certain *English* Companies were left to hunt him in his Walks, and to stop his Passage.) That his Lordship desirous to be at hand, to watch all Opportunities of Service upon the Northern Borders, had pierced into the *Fearny*, and that Sir *Richard Moryson*, Governor of *Dundalk*, with his Garrison, had formerly wasted, and now passed through the *Fewes*, and met his Lordship there, so as both these Countries being spoiled, *Ever mac Cooly*, Chief of the *Fearny*, and *Turlogh mac Henry*, Capt. of the *Fewes*, had both been humble Suitors for her Majesty's Mercy, and were commanded to appear shortly, and make their humble Submissions: Which Course likewise the Septs of the *Brenny* were like to take, for many of them chastised by the Army, and utterly discouraged, had already divers times offered most humble Submissions. That his Lordship hereupon had called the Counsellors to *Tredagh*, there to consider of the Circumstances and Conditions, to be observed in taking these Submissions, as also to deliberate how the Army might be employed most to vex *Tyrone*, till the Summer came on, at which time his Lordship purposed to dwell upon him, and put him to Trial of his uttermost Fortune. That it was resolved in Council to accept the Submissions of the Chief of *Fearny*, and the Captain of the *Fewes*, above-named, as likewise of the Septs of the *Brenny* (these three Countries being

an

an Hedge between the *English* Pale, and the North, and yielding many Commodities to pass into *Tyrone* with her Majesty's Forces, that it was resolved to send *Mac Guyer* into *Fermanagh* with 200 Men to help him for a time, against the Rebel *Mac Guyer* (whom he and his Son had already much impoverished,) for he was thought a fit Instrument (in case he prevailed,) as well to intangle *Tyrone* and infest *ó Rorke*, as to help the Plantation at *Ballishannon*, intended to be put in Execution about *June* following, when Forage could be had for Horses.

They further solicited by these Letters for Supplies of Victuals, Munition and Money, and that the Victuals and Munition should be addressed some Part to *Dublin* and *Tredagh*, but the greatest Part to *Galway*, being intended for the Forces to be planted at *Ballishannon*, and those to invade *Tyrone* that Way; and the rest to *Carlingford*, intended for the Forces to invade *Tyrone* by the Way of the *Newry*, which Invasion was purposed about the Midst of *June*, when Forage might be had for the Horse, and this they prayed, because the unshipping and reshipping of the Victuals at *Dublin*, caused great Expence of Money, and waste of the Victuals.

Turlogh mac Henry Captain of the *Fewes*, and *Ever mac Cooly*, of the Family of the *mac Mahowns*, Chief of the *Fearny*, did about this time declare themselves to be Subjects, and humbly made their Submissions on their Knees, signing certain Articles of Subjection under their Hands, and putting in Pledges for Performance thereof. And the said *Ever* in particular confessed in the Articles under his Hand, that he was not Lord, but Farmer of the *Fearny*, binding himself to pay her Majesty his old Rent. The 31st of *March*, Anno 1601. 1601, her Majesty signed the following Establishment.

Officers

Officers General.

The Lord Deputy for his Diet 100 *l.* *per mensem*;
a Band of Horſe 3 *l.* 4 *s.* *per diem*; 50 Foot, each
at 8 *d.* *per diem*; for Allowance in Lieu of Ceffe,
10 *l.* *per annum*, beſides his Companies of Horſe
and Foot in the Army. In all *per diem* 12 *l.* 6 *s.*
6 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. *per annum*, 4444 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$.

The Lieutenant of the Army 3 *l.* *per diem*;
1095 *l.* *per annum*.

The Treafurer at War, 1 *l.* 15 *s.* *per diem*;
638 *l.* 15 *s.* *per annum*.

The Marſhal beſides his 30 Horſe at 1 *s.* *per diem*
without Cheque in the Army, 5 *s.* 9 *d.* *per diem*;
104 *l.* 18 *s.* 9 *d.* *per annum*.

The Serjeant Major of the Army, 1 *l.* *per diem*;
365 *l.* *per annum*.

The Maſter of the Ordnance, 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 11 *d.* *per diem*;
491 *l.* 4 *s.* 7 *d.* *per annum*.

Minifters of the Ordnance, 1 *l.* 5 *s.* 2 *d.* *per diem*;
459 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.* *per annum*.

Muſter-maſter General 11 *s.* 6 *d.* *per diem*;
209 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* *per annum*.

Comptroller of the Victuals 10 *s.* *per diem*;
182 *l.* 10 *s.* *per annum*.

Five Commiſſaries of Victuals, 1 at 8 *s.* and 4
each at 6 *s.* *per diem*, 1 *l.* 12 *s.* *per diem*; 584 *l.* *per annum*.

Fourteen Colonels, each at 10 *s.* *per diem*, 7 *l.*
per diem; 2555 *l.* *per annum*.

Scout-maſter, beſides 6 Horſe, each at 1 *s.* *per diem*,
Part of the Army, 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *per diem*; 121 *l.*
13 *s.* 4 *d.* *per annum*.

Provost-Marſhal of the Army for himſelf and
4 Horſemen, 4 *s.* 3 *d.* *per diem*; 77 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.*
per annum.

Officers

Officers Provincial.

President of *Munster* at 133 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *per annum*; his Diet and the Counsels at 10 *l.* the Week; his Retinue of 30 Horse and 20 Foot at 1 *l.* 10 *s.* 7 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. *per diem*; 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* *per diem*; 1213 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. *per annum*.

Provost-Marshal in *Munster*, 14 *s.* *per diem*; 255 *l.* 10 *s.* *per annum*.

The Commander of the Forces in *Connaught* at 10 *s.* *per diem*, with an Increase of 100 *l.* *per annum*; 15 *s.* 5 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. *per diem*; 282 *l.* 10 *s.* *per annum*.

Provost-Marshal in *Connaught*, besides 12 Horsemen of the Army, 5 *s.* 7 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. *per diem*; 102 *l.* 14 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. *per annum*.

Commander of the Forces at *Loughfoyle*, besides his Pay of 10 *s.* *per diem* as Colonel, hath 3 *s.* 4 *d.* *per diem*. 60 *l.* 16 *s.* 8 *d.* *per annum*.

Provost-Marshal there, 4 *s.* *per diem*; 73 *l.* *per annum*.

Provost-Marshal of *Ballishannon*, 4 *s.* *per diem*; 73 *l.* *per annum*.

Lieutenant of the *Queen's-County*, 6 *s.* 8 *d.* *per diem*; 121 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *per annum*.

Provost-Marshal in *Leinster* for himself and 6 Horsemen, 5 *s.* 7 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. *per diem*; 102 *l.* 14 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. *per annum*.

Warders in *Leinster* *per annum*, 1310 *l.* 19 *s.* 2 *d.*

Warders in *Ulster* *per annum*, 821 *l.* 5 *s.*

Warders in *Munster* *per annum*, 542 *l.* 18 *s.* 9 *d.*

Warders in *Connaught* *per annum*, 200 *l.*

1200 Horsemen distributed into 24 Bands, the Captain 4 *s.* the Lieutenant 2 *s.* 6 *d.* the Cornet 2 *s.* *per diem*, and 300 Horsemen, each at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* *per diem*, on Condition they be *English* both Horse and Men, or else to have but 1 *s.* *per diem*. And 200 Horsemen at 1 *s.* 3 *d.* *per diem*, and 700 Horsemen at 1 *s.* *per diem*. *Per annum* 29273 *l.*

14000

Chap. I. of IRELAND. 223

14000 Footmen, distributed into 140 Bands, the Captain 4*s.* Lieutenant 2*s.* Ensign 1*s.* 6*d.* *per diem*, 2 Serjeants, 1 Drum, and 1 Surgeon, each at 1*s.* a-piece *per diem*, and each Soldier at 8*d.* *per diem*. *Per annum* 199715*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Pensioners in the Muster-book *per annum*, 1809*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*

Pensioners by Letters Patents *per annum*, 874*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

13 Almshouses *per annum*, 88*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

Officers of the Musters which are payable out of the Checks, namely, 1 Muster-master at 6*s.* 8*d.* 1 Comptroller at 10*s.* and 20 Commissaries, each at 3*s.* 4*d.* *per diem*. *Per annum* 1520*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

Extraordinary Allowance for Messengers, Espials, Post-barks, Rewards of Services, &c. *per annum*, 6000*l.*

Total of this Establishment *per annum*, 255773*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$.

Memorandum, that the dead Pays allowed to the Captains in each Company of Horse or Foot, are herein contained, but the Charge of Munition, of levying Horse and Foot for reinforcing the Army, with many like Charges, are not herein contained.

The 6th of April, 1601, his Lordship received Advertisement from Capt. *Josias Bodley*, at the *Newry*, that he, and Capt. *Edward Blany*, Governor of the Fort of *Mount-Norris*, purposing to surprize *Loghborcan*, could not carry a Boat, which they had provided to that Purpose, but he carrying certain Fire-works provided in case the Boat should fail, went to the Fort, and joining with Capt. *Blany*, marched towards that Island, where they arrived by eight of the Clock in the Morning, and leaving their Forces behind a Wood, they both went together to discover the Island; which

which done Capt. *Bodley* made ready 30 Arrows with Wild-fire, and so they both fell down with 100 Shot close to the Water, where the Shot playing incessantly upon the Island, while the other delivered their Arrows, suddenly the Houses fired, and burnt so vehemently, as the Rebels lodging there, forsook the Island, and swam to the further Shoar. That after they saw all burnt to the Ground, they fired a great House upon their Side of the Shoar, and killed there 6 Kerne, (gaining their Arms) besides Churls and Calliachs, and after the burning of other Houses also, they brought away some Cows and Sheep, with other Pillage; and they understood by a Prisoner, that there were about 30 Persons in the Island, whereof only 8 swam away, (of which 4 were shot in the Water,) so as the rest either were killed or lay hurt in the Island. Likewise they understood by the said Prisoner, that great Store of Butter, Corn, Meal, and Powder, was burnt and spoiled in the Island, which all the Rebels of that Country made their Magazine. Further, that some 40 Kerne skirmished with them at Places of Advantage, in their Retreat for two Miles March; but howsoever the common Opinion was, that the Rebels sustained great Loss by this Service, yet of the *English* only two were slain and seven hurt.

The 7th of *April* Sir *Henry Dockwra*, Governor of *Loughfoyle*, wrote to his Lordship, that he had taken the Submission of *Hugh Boy*, of whose Service to her Majesty, he was confident to make manifold good Utes, as well for the present settling Sir *John o Dogherty's* Country after his late death, as for revealing the Rebels secret Counsels, well known to him. Among which, he confidently avowed that the King of *Spain* had promised to invade *Ireland* this Year, with 6000 Men, and to land at some Town in *Munster*, (swearing that three of the chief Cities had promised to receive them:)

Adding,

Adding, that *Florence mac Carty* had written to *ô Donnel*, that he had submitted to the Queen only upon Necessity, and that upon the *Spaniards* coming he would join with them. This Governor further advertised that *Phelim Oge*, Chief of a contrary Faction in *ô Dogherty's* Country, desired to make his humble Submission to the Queen's Mercy upon these Conditions; to leave off the Name of *ô Dogherty*, and obey any Man, to whom her Majesty should give that Country. To pay all Debts his Men did owe to any Subjects. To discharge his Soldiers. To return to the Owners 1200 Beeves he had cut for *ô Donnel*. To make Satisfaction for a Bark coming to the *Liffer*, which his People had taken and spoiled: And to yield up to him the Governor all the Cattle should be found in his Country belonging to *ô Donnel*. Adding, that Sir *John Bolles* in a Journey made upon *ô Cane*, had killed fifty of his People, had burned many Houses and much Corn. And that the Garrison of the *Liffer* had spoiled *Tirconnel*, had slain many, and had brought away 200 Cows, and great Booties.

The 10th of April Sir *Oghy ô Hanlon*, a Northern Lord submitted himself on his Knees to her Majesty's Mercy at *Tredagh*, and signed certain Articles, for the Performance whereof he took his Oath. And because these Articles (except there fell out some special Reason to leave out some of them, and to add others) were the same to which all Submitties at this time were tied, I will once for all add the Brief of them.

After his Acknowledgment that Queen *Elizabeth*, by the Grace of God Queen of *England, France, and Ireland*, &c. is the true, absolute, and sovereign Lady of this Realm of *Ireland*, and of every Part, and of all the People thereof, with humble Confession of his former Disloyalty, and of his Penitency, and like Profession that he had felt the

Weight of her Majesty's Power. This done, further to the Example of all other Offenders, he testified, that he made this his humble Submission and Protestation of his Penitency, his future Loyalty and endeavour to redeem his Faults by his good Services; then he acknowledged under his Hand, that now before the Lord Deputy and Council he taketh a corporal and religious Oath for all and several Articles following; Namely, that he will ever continue a loyal Subject: that for Performance thereof, and of all the following Articles, he will put in sufficient Pledges: that he doth renounce all Manner of Obedience to any foreign Power or Potentate, depending only on the Queen his Sovereign: that he renounceth all Rebels, and will not aid them, but serve against them when he is commanded: that he will to the uttermost of his Power withstand and confound any disloyal Subject, or foreign Enemy attempting against the sacred Person or Estate of her Majesty, or the Quietness of her faithful Subjects, more especially against the Arch-traitor *Tyrone* and the King of *Spain* supporting him: that he will come to the State whensoever he is commanded, neither will upon Wrongs seek to right himself, but will seek Redress by Course of Law: that he will reveal all Conspiracies of Treason which he shall hear: that he will sue out her Majesty's Pardon within certain Days for him and his Followers, and answer for their good Behaviour: that he will book these Followers within certain Days: that he will suffer all Subjects safely to trade in his Country: that he will extort no black Rents, or make other Exactions on his People but by due Course of a Subject. For sincere Performance hereof, he testified that he had taken his corporal Oath upon his Knees before the Lord Deputy and Council, (the same Oath being solemnly ministred to him, and taken by him in the said Assembly) and did again vow the same upon his Salutation,

utation, religiously professing that if he should break those Articles, or any of them, he would acknowledge himself not only to be worthy of all Infamy and extream Punishment, but ever after to be most unworthy to bear the Name of a Christian, or to enjoy the Society of Men, to which, as he had unfeignedly sworn, so now in witness thereof, he did in this written Form of Submission set to his Hand, with addition of the Day of the Month, and of the Year when this Act was done by him.

The 16th of *April*, the Governor of *Loughfoyle* by his Letters intreated that a Pardon might be passed to *Hugh Boy* (which Business the Bearer had undertaken to solicit) and that *Neal Garve*, to whom the Queen had granted *ô Donnel's* Country, might be sent back from *Dublin*, because the *Irish* were confident that upon his Arrival all the People of *Tirconnel* would flock unto him; further advertising, that the Garrison of the *Liffer* had burnt the new Town, and killed twelve Kerne and thirty eight of other People, and had brought back some three hundred Cows; and that the Garrison of *Donnegal* had burnt in *ô Kane's* Country a great Village, and many Women, Children, and Cows, with the Houses, and had killed some forty Kerne and Churls.

The 23d of *April* his Lordship kept *St. George's* Feast at *Dublin* with solemn Pomp, the Captains bringing up his Meat, and some of the Colonels attending on his Person at Table; to which Feast the Rebels were invited, whom his Lordship lately received to Mercy, under her Majesty's Protection, till their Pardons might be signed, namely, *Turlough Mac Henry*, Captain of the *Fewes*; *Ever Mac Cooly*, chief of the *Fearney*; *ô Hanlon*, a Lord of *Ulster*; *Phelim Mac Feagh*, chief of the *ô Birns*; and *Donnel Spaniagh*, chief of the *Cavanaghs* in *Leinster*: These were entertained with Plenty of

Wine and all Kindness, his Lordship assuring them, that as he had been a Scourge to them in Rebellion, so he would now be a Mediator for them to her Majesty in their State of Subjects, they standing firm and constant to their Obedience. And no doubt, as there is a secret Mystery of State in these solemn Poms, and as his Lordship therein, for his Person and Carriage, was most comely and (if I may use the Word) majesticall, so the Magnificence of this Feast wrought in the Hearts of those Rebels, and by their relation in the Hearts of others after submitting, (both having first experienced the Sharpness of the Queen's Sword), such an awful Respect to her Majesty, and such Fear temper'd with Love to his Lordship, as much availed to contain them in due Obedience.

From the End of *March* to the Beginning of *May*, upon the Lord President's Intercession by Letters to the Lord Deputy, many Pardons were granted for Life, Land, and Goods to Chieftains of Countries, and Gentlemen in *Munster*; namely, to *Mac Carty Reough*, Chieftain of *Carbery*, and 210 Followers, as well Men as Women and Children; to *Oswyllivan Beare*, and some 528 Followers, as also to *Oswyllivan Brantry*; to *John ó Doyre* of *Tipperary*, and some 150 Followers; to *Fitz-James Gerald*, with some 370 Followers; and to *Teigue Mac Moreretagh ó Brian*, in the County of *Limrick*, with some 221 Followers; and some others which for Brevity I omit. And it was concluded at the Council-table, on the last of *April*, that the two following Provisoos should be inserted in all Pardons, (and Charge was accordingly given to the Queen's learned Council, and to the Officers, and to his Lordship's Secretaries, whose Hands all Pardons passed, that the said Provisoos should be continually inserted), namely, First, in regard some notorious Rebels of the Pale might pass as Follow-
ers

ers to remote Lords, that the Pardon be not available to any but to the natural Inhabitants, Tenants, and known Followers of the Lord so pardoned. Secondly, in regard many Rebels taken and to be judged according to the Law, might by oversight be pardoned, Proviso was to be entred that no Pardon should avail any who were already in Prison or upon Bail.

The 2d of *May* his Lordship wrote to the Lords in *England*, that *Munster* was not only well reduced, but began to taste the Sweetness of Peace; that the like might be said of *Leinster*, except the *Mores* and *Connors*, who were scattered, and had fought, but could not obtain, of him the Queen's Mercy: that the Northern Borders of *Ulster* were assured, namely, *ó Hanlon's* Country, the *Fewes*, *Glancarvil*, the *Ferny*, most of the *Galloglasses*, and many of the *Mac Mahownes*; and that a Garrison was planted in the *Brenny*, and the Queen's *Mac Gwire* settled in *Fermanagh*: that Sir *Henry Dockwra* at *Loughfoyle*, and Sir *Arthur Chichester* at *Carrickfergus* (commonly called *Knockfergus*), had made their Neighbours sure to the State, and both had done her Majesty excellent Service: that only *Connaught*, most easily to be reduced, was most out of Order: that for this Reason he thought fit to plant *Ballishannon* Garrison through *Connaught*, which might be reduced with the very passing of the Army; and therefore had persuaded the Magazine of Victuals at *Galway*, specially since from those Parts his Lordship might easily join with the Lord President in Case *Spain* should invade *Munster*: that in the mean time his Lordship would draw 1000 Foot out of *Munster* to serve in *Ulster*, and, for a time, borrow thence 500 Foot and fifty Horse for *Connaught* Journey, the Forces remaining being sufficient to guard *Munster*, and greater than he had left in *Leinster*, in the Peace whereof he might seem to have more proper Interest. But if *Spain* should invade *Mun-*

ster, then all the Army was to be drawn thither, and great Supplies sent out of *England*, since the Defection of the *Irish* was like to be great, even of those who yet had never declared any Malice against the State; yet that his Lordship desired presently no Supplies, in regard of her Majesty's excessive Charge in levying and transporting them, trusting that by the Rebels Forces diminished Occasion would be given to cast some of the Army, with which cast Companies the Defects of the standing might be supplied, wherein his Lordship promised to proceed without preferring such as even with their Blood shed in his Sight deserved Advancement, or satisfying some worthy Commanders (whose Entertainment he had rather lessened), or pleasuring those who might justly challenge Preferment from him: Therefore praying that her Majesty would not command him to bestow new Companies (as of late she had done) upon such as of late had been absent, and had only served at the losing of the Kingdom, so as they were least fit to be preferred before those who had hazarded their Lives in regaining it: Adding, that he writ not this to uphold any private Dependency on himself, esteeming it a great Vanity so to do, but only to strengthen himself so long and no longer than he should be employed in her Majesty's Service. That instead of new Supplies he desired leave to entertain some of the *Irish* Submittees in Pay, by them to consume the Rebels, and by the Rebels to diminish their Number, since two things remained to settle the Kingdom: First, The ridding *Ireland* of the Swordmen, (to which End the *Irish* affected some Journey into the Low-Countries or the *Indies*, which could not make them any whit more able Soldiers than now they were, nor add to their Knowledge of War fit for *Ireland*, which they now had; but three Parts of four were like never to return, if they were engaged in such a Voyage).

Secondly,

Secondly, The making of the *English* Owners fit to inhabit their Lands, which was most difficult, in regard of their Poverty, and of the great Quantities of Lands they possessed, since, in particular of some Gentlemen of *Leax* and *Ophalia*, each possessed as much Land, as being well inhabited, would maintain more Men than all the Rebels of those Counties were in Number.

About the 10th of *May* his Lordship gave Warrant to pass the Pardon of *Phelim Mac Feogh ó Birn* of the Glins, with his Followers, and likewise of *Phelim Mac Feogh ó Toole* of the *Fartrey*, with fifty six Followers: And upon the humble Submission of *Rosse Mac Mahowne*, his Lordship granted him her Majesty's Protection, till he might sue out his Pardon.

About this time his Lordship had advertisement from Sir *Henry Dockwra*, Governor at *Loughfoyle*, that he had taken in *ó Dogherty's* Country, and secured the Passages into it, as well against *ó Donnel* as the false Inhabitants: that he having gathered the Forces to spoil *Hugh Mac Hugh Duff's* Country, the Project was frustrated by an *Irishman* stealing from the Army, and given them Intelligence hereof, so as they drove the Prey far off into remote Parts: that *Neal Garve* with *Cormock ó Neal*, dispatched lately from *Dublin*, were arrived at *Loughfoyle*: that he, the said Governor, deferring the Prosecution of *ó Kane*, because he had no Haven in his Country for the landing of *Spaniards*, nor could escape from the *English* Forces though *Spaniards* should land; the same time resolved to enter *Hugh Mac Duff's* Country, as more fit to receive foreign Forces, and to supply them with Victuals or other Necessaries, and to this End that he had assembled the Forces to the *Liffer*: that *Shane Mac Manus Oge ó Donnel*, commanding certain Islands in the Sea, did there offer to submit, but upon such Conditions as were unfit; yet the *Irish* extolling his Valour,

and intreating for him, and *Neal Garve*, for the time, being content to spare him of the Men allowed him fifty Foot and twenty five Horse; that he, the Governor, had further promised him, upon acceptable Service, to procure him as many more Men in her Majesty's Pay, whereupon he had taken his Oath of Obedience, and had secretly sent Word to his People to spoil *Rory ó Donnell's* Country (who then had him in no Suspicion); this done, that he, the Governor, suddenly entered *Hugh Duff's* Country aforesaid, and spoiled the same, taking a Prey of more than 1000 Cows, with great Numbers of Garrons, Sheep, and Goats; that thence he marched into *Fannaght*, where *Owen Oge Mac Swinedoe*, Lord of the *Doe*, met him on the Borders, and delivering the chief Pledges of his Country for his and their Loyalty, took his Oath of Obedience to her Majesty: that hearing of *ó Donnell's* drawing into those Parts, he thence retired with great Part of the Forces, leaving *Neal Garve* with his *Irish* and some *English* Companies for his Assistance, to spoil and absolutely waste *Fannaght*, to whom *Mac Swine Fannaght*, Lord of the Country, presently delivered Pledges of his Loyalty, taking his Oath of Obedience to her Majesty, at which time likewise *Mac Swine Bane* and *ó Boyle* earnestly solicited the Governor to be received to Mercy: that *Neal Garve* by the keeping of *Tyrconnel*, granted him at *Dublin* for the Time till her Majesty might please to pass the same to him by Letters Patents, and by great Gifts he had there received, was puffed up with Pride, desiring present Possession of the Country, and calling the People his Subjects, and saying to the Governor's Face that he would punish, exact, cut, and hang them as he list; but that he had calmed him with severe Speeches, and with Charge not to meddle with any Man, or any Part of the Country upon his Allegiance, since he had no Right but from her Majesty's Bounty,

Bounty, not yet fully expressed, and that not sovereign, but limited, so as might best stand with the People's Good, who were not his but her Majesty's Subjects; that he found him to be in his Nature proud, valiant, miserable, tyrannous, unmeasurably covetous, without any Knowledge of God, or, almost any Civility, good to be used while he was satisfied, (which he could hardly be, being like a Quince, requiring great Cost e're it be good to eat), or whilst he was kept under (which was the fitter course to be held with him), yet that he thought him sure to the State, in regard of the Pledges he had given, but much more, because he could no way better his Estate by leaving the Queen's Service, nor be secure of any Word from *ô Donnel*, whose Brother he had killed: that *Cormack ô Neal*, being of late come from *Dublin*, could hitherto have done no Service, but that he was of reasonable Esteem among the People of his Country, and was of a mild honest Disposition, willing to serve without grating Beggary, or unreasonable Demands, yet was *Irish*, and little less barbarous than the better Sort of Wood Kerne; that coming out of the Woods without Friend or Kinsman he could then give no Pledges, but his Wife and Children were since come to him, and within the Governor's Power; besides that, he seemed not to be inclined to Treachery, neither could mend his Estate by leaving the Queen's Service, to which he came in voluntarily, without calling, forcing, or composition, and therein remained with his Desires limited and to be contented with Reason: that *Hugh Boy*, was subtle, wise, civil, a Papist, and aliened (but not deeply malicious) against *ô Donnel's* Person, yet firm in his Allegiance, having come in with his Country, and delivered his chief Pledges, offering any other to be delivered upon Command; and having shewed the Passages into his Country,
and

and himself solicited and furthered the fortifying thereof, daily giving sure and important Intelligences, to the great Furtherance of the Service; besides that, all his Wealth lay within the Power of the Queen's Forces: Lastly, that between these Submittees were Factions and Heart-burnings, which discreetly measured could not but advantage the Service.

The 15th of *May* the Lord Deputy received (by the Hands of Sir *George Carey*, Treasurer at War) a Proclamation (signed by the Queen) to be published, for making the new Standard of mixed Monies to be only currant in this Kingdom, all other Coins being to be brought in to the Treasurer: and likewise a Letter from the Queen, requiring the Lord Deputy and Council to further the due Execution of the Contents of this Proclamation, and by some plausible Graces, done in general to the Subject (in the establishing an Exchange of this Coin into sterling Money of *England*, and taking away the Impositions on Sea-coals transported into *Ireland*, and in particular to the Captains of the Army, in allowing their dead Pays in Money after the Rate of 8 *d. per diem*, and some like Favours), inviting all to swallow this bitter Pill, which impoverish'd not only the Rebels, but her Majesty's best Servants in this Kingdom, only enriching her Paymasters sitting quietly at Home while others adventured daily their Bloods in the Service.

The 20th of *May* the Lord Deputy and Council advertised the Lords in *England*, that they had given Order to print 300 of the Proclamations for the new Coin to be published through all Parts of *Ireland* at one time: that they had in Council agreed upon a general hoasting for this Year, to begin the last of *June* following; and in the mean time while that was preparing, that the Lord Deputy would draw the Forces to *Dundalk* upon the Northern

thern Borders, there to watch Opportunities of Service, and specially by his Presence to animate the new Submittees to attempt something against the Arch-traytor *Tyrone*, and to put them in Blood against him and his Confederates: and that his Lordship towards the time of the said hoasting purposed to return to *Dublin*, and to the End he might find there all things in readines for his intended Prosecution of *Tyrone* in his own Country, they besought their Lordships that Victuals and Muniti- on might with all possible Speed be sent thither out of *England*. The foresaid general hoasting is a rising out of certain Foot and Horse found by the Sub- ject of the five *English* Shires and the *Irish* Submit- tees to assist the Queen's Forces, and these, together with some of the *English* Companies, his Lord- ship used to lay in the Pale for the Defence thereof, at such time as the Forces were to be drawn into *Ulster*.

The Rising out of the five English Shires and the Irish Submittees, viz. Of the County of Dublin. Besides 16 Kerne.

	Horse.	Archers Horse.
In the Barony of <i>Balrothery</i> ,	00	26
In that of <i>Cowlocke</i> ,	00	30
In that of <i>Newcastle</i> ,	00	18
In that of <i>Castleknocke</i> ,	00	11
In that of <i>Rathdowne</i> ,	12	10

2. Of the County of Meath. Besides 100 Kerne of the Pools.

	Horse.	Archers Horse.
In the Barony of <i>Dulicke</i> ,	00	32
In the Barony of <i>Skrine</i> ,	24	30
In that of <i>Ratothe</i> ,	00	13
In that of <i>Dunboyne</i> ,	00	3
In that of <i>Decy</i> ,	00	17
In that of <i>Moyfewragh</i> ,	00	4
In that of <i>Lane</i> ,	00	8
In that of <i>Navan</i> ,	00	48
In that of <i>Kenlles</i> , alias <i>Kells</i> ,	16	6
In that of <i>Slane</i> ,	6	11
In that of <i>Fowere</i> ,	28	00
In that of <i>Margallen</i> ,	7	1
Thirdly, Of the County of <i>West-</i> <i>meath</i> ,	} 60	2

Fourthly, Of the County of *Kildare*.

In the Barony of <i>Sault</i> ,	8	14
In that of the upper <i>Naaſſe</i> ,	00	13
In that of the nether <i>Naaſſe</i> ,	00	5
In that of <i>Kelkullen</i> ,	8	2
In that of <i>Narragh</i> ,	00	2
In that of <i>Reban</i> and <i>Athy</i> ,	00	3
In that of <i>Kilkey</i> ,	1	2
In that of <i>Ophaly</i> ,	1	2
In that of <i>Connall</i> ,	00	3
In that of <i>Clane</i> ,	00	2
In that of <i>Okethy</i> ,	00	5
In that of <i>Carbery</i> ,	00	4

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Of the County of Lowth.

	Horse.	Archers Horse.
In the Barony of <i>Ferrard</i> ,	4	26
In that of <i>Atherdy</i> ,	16	13
In the Towns of <i>Lowth</i> and of <i>Dun-</i> <i>dalk</i> ,	} 16	6
	Summa 207	374
	Total of both 581	

The Rising out of the Irish Lords, and their Captains.

The 8 *Byrns*, over whom, after the Death of Sir *Henry Harrington*, his Son, Sir *William Harrington*, is Captain, by the late Queen's Letters Patents, granted to his Father and him, Horsemen 12, Kerne 24.

The *Cavanaghs* having then no Captain over them, Horse 12, Kerne 30.

Other particular Septs, besides those which were in Rebellion, Horse 104, Kerne 307.

Total Horse 128, Kerne 361.

The Project of disposing the Queen's Forces for the following Summer's Service.

Out of *Munster* we thought fit to be spared, and to be drawn into *Connaught* 1000 Foot and 50 Horse, (since there should still remain in *Munster* 1600 Foot and 200 Horse, for any Occasion of Service.) Foot 1000, Horse 50.

In *Connaught* were already (besides *Tybot ne Long's* Company,) Foot 1150, Horse 74.

These to be placed as followeth.

To keep at *Galway* and *Athlone* in *Connaught*, Foot 350.

To

To leave at the Abby of *Boyle* in *Connaught* under the Command of the late Lord of *Dunkellen*, now Earl of *Clanrickard*. Foot 1000, Horse 62.

These to further the Plantation of *Ballishannon*.

To leave at the *Annaly* in *Leinster*-side of the *Shannon*, under the Command of Sir *John Barkely*, Foot 800, Horse 12.

These fit to join with the undermentioned Forces of *Westmeath*, *Kels*, and the rest upon the Northern Borders, to stop the *Ulster* Rebels from coming into *Leinster*; or if they should pass them, then to join with the Forces of *Ophaly*, and the rest Southward. *Tybot ne Long*, (the Payment of whose Company had long been stopped) was to be kept in good Terms. *ô Connor Sligo* to be threatened, that if he did not submit, and declare himself against *ô Donnel*, before the planting of *Ballishannon*, he should have no Hope of Mercy. The Forces at the Abby of *Boyle* were to infect *ô Connor Sligo*, and to keep *ô Rorke* from joining with *ô Donnel*. Those at the *Annaly*, to infect *ô Rorke*, besides the above-mentioned, lying between any Forces that might come out of the North into *Leinster*, and to follow them if they should escape, it being likely that about Harvest-time *Tyrrel* and the *ô Connors* will gather Strength (if they possibly can) to return and gather the Corn they sowed last Year in *Leax* and *Ophaly*. And thus are disposed the above-said Foot 2150, Horse 124.

The Forces towards the South of Leinster to lie thus;

In *Ophaly*. The Earl of *Kildare* 150, Sir *George Boucher* 100, Sir *Edward Harbert* 100, Capt. *Carrol* 100, Sir *Henry Warren* 100 Foot; In all 550. Earl of *Kildare* 25, Sir *Edward Harbert* 12 Horse; In all 37. In *Leax*. Sir *Henry Power* 150, Sir *Francis Rushe* 150, Sir *Thomas Loftus* 100 Foot; In

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In all 400. Master Marshal 20, Capt. Pigot 12 Horfe; In all 32. At Kilkenny. Earl of Ormond 150 Foot, 50 Horfe.

The Forces towards the North of Leinster to lie thus;

In *Westmeath*. Lord of *Delvin* 150, Sir *Francis Shane* 100 Foot. In *Kells*. Capt. *Roper* 150 Foot. Earl of *Kildare* 25, Sir *Henry Harrington* 25 Horfe. At *Liscannon* in the *Brenny*. Lord of *Dunsany* 150, Capt. *Esmond* 150, Sir *William Warren* 100, Sir *Henry Harrington* 100, Foot 500. Lord of *Dunsany* 50 Horfe. At *Dundalk*. Capt. *Freckleton* 100 Foot. In the *Moyry*. Capt. *Handford* 100 Foot.

These of the North and the Garrisons at the Abby of *Boyle*, lie fit for Correspondency.

These of the South, together with the submitted *Irish* in *Opprossery*, and the *ó Dempsies*, *ó Molyes*, and *Mac Coghlins*, lie fit for Correspondency among themselves, as also with the Garrison at the *Annaly*. Also all these of the South and North, lie aptly placed to answer one another upon Occasion of Service, and are in Number, those of the South, Foot 1100, Horfe 119. Those of the North, Foot 1100, Horfe 100.

Both of the South and North, Foot 2200, Horfe 219.

Total, adding the Forces abovesaid drawn out of *Munster*, and those being in *Connaught*, (namely Foot 2150, Horfe 124.) Makes Foot 4350, Horfe 343.

The Lord Deputy's Forces follow, wherewith he purposed to build a Fort at the *Moyry*, and put Men into it to keep that Pace. To plant a Garrison in *Lecale* of 500 Foot and 50 Horfe. To give Sir *Arthur Chichester*, the Governor of *Knockfergus*, two Companies for his better Strength. To plant a Garrison at *Armagh*, and another at the old Fort of *Blackwater*, and a little loope Sconce
between

between them both. To see great Store of Hay made in time of the Year at *Armagh*, and at *Mount-Norris*, for feeding of Horses there in the Winter following. To lie all the Summer close upon *Tyrone*, destroying the new Corn, and spoiling the Country, and so to facilitate the planting of *Balishannon*, and perhaps to pass into *Tyrone's* Country, the Garrisons of *Knockfergus*, *Lecaile*, and *Loughfoyle*, entering at the same time on all Hands, and there ordered to meet him, and to draw towards Winter to *Athlone* in *Connaught*.

The Lord Deputy's said Forces.

The Lord Deputy 200, The Marshal 150, Sir *Oliver Lambert* 150, Sir *Christopher St. Laurence* 150, Sir *Francis Stafford* 200, Sir *Oliver St. Johns* 200, Sir *Henry Folliot* 150, Capt. *Williams* 150, Sir *James Fitzpierce* 150, Sir *William Fortesque* 100, Sir *Garret Moore* 100, Capt. *Reilly* 100, Captain *Edward Blaney* 150, Captain *Josias Bodley* 150, Sir *Henry Davers* 150, Captain *Ghest* 150, Captain *Roe* 100, Captain *Masterfon* 100, Captain *Rotheram* 150. Foot 2750. Lord Deputy 100, Sir *Henry Davers* 100, Sir *Oliver Lambert* 25, Sir *Garret More* 25, Sir *Christopher St. Laurence* 25, Captain *Darcy* 25. Horse 300.

The Companies intended to be left in the Garrison to be planted this Summer at *Lecaile*.

Sir *Richard Moryson* the Governor 150, Captain *Causfield* 150, Captain *Trever* 100, Captain *Constable* 100, Foot 500. Sir *Samuel Bagnol* 50 Horse.

The Garrison then being at *Knockfergus*.

Sir *Arthur Chichester* the Governor 200, Sir *Faulke Conway* 150, Captain *Egerton* 100, Captain *Norton* 100, Captain *Billings* 100, Captain *Philips* 100. Foot 750.

Sir *Arthur Chichester* 25, Captain *John Jephson* 100. Horse 125.

These

These two Garrisons of *Lecaile* and *Knockfergus*, might meet upon all Occasions, and so by the intended Plantation of *Lecaile*, the Garrison of *Knockfergus* was thought as much strengthened, as if those Companies lay there.

Lying presently in Garrison at the *Newry*, upon *Ulster* Borders, Sir *Samuel Bagnol* 150 Foot, Sir *Francis Stafford* 50 Horse.

Lying at the Fort of *Mount Norris*, Captain *Arderton* 150 Fort.

These two Garrisons, and the two intended at *Blackwater* and *Armagh*, to be under one Governor, and to have correspondency as one Garrison.

The Garrisons at *Loughfoyle* to be drawn forth into the Field.

At the *Derry*, in List.

Sir *Henry Dockwra* the Governor 200, Captain *Digges* 100, Captain *Willis* 150, Captain *Lea* 100, Captain *Oram* 100, Captain *Brooks* 100, Captain *Orrel* 100, Foot 850, whereof to be drawn into the Field 650.

At the *Lyffer*.

Captain *Coach* 100, Captain *Morgan* 150, Captain *Winsore* 100, Captain *Dutton* 100, Captain *Goare* 150, Captain *Pinner* 100, Captain *Rand* 100, Foot 800. For the Field 550.

At *Dunalong*.

Sir *John Bolles* 150, Captain *Floyd* 150, Captain *Badby* 150, Captain *Sidley* 100, Captain *Basset* 100. Foot 650. For the Field 400.

At *Kilmore*, Captain *Alford* 100. For the Field 35. At *Newtown*, Captain *Atkinson* 100, For the Field 40. At *Romolyon*, Captain *Bingley* 150. At *Culmerat*, Captain *Vaughan* 100. At the *Cargan*, Captain *Stafford*, 100. At *Anny*, Captain *Sidney* 100. Foot 650. For the Field 75.

Total in List 3000. For the Field 1675.

Thus at *Loughfoyle* with these *English* Foot, and 100 *English* Horse, together with 500 *Irish* Foot, and 100 *Irish* Horse, and the help of the Submitties, especially of *Neal Garve*, and of *Cormock o Neal*. It was thought that Sir *Henry Dockwra* might plant an intended Garrison at *Ballishannon*, as by his own offer he had projected in *England*, and besides keeping his own, might also draw out sufficient Forces to meet the Lord Deputy in the Heart of *Tyrone*, if the Project of planting *Ballishannon* could take such effect as was hoped. To the furtherance whereof I did at this time, upon his Lordship's Command, devise a Cipher, to pass between his Lordship and the Governors of *Loughfoyle*, *Knockfergus*, and *Lecaile*, to the end, that if the Rebels should light upon any their Letters, contriving this meeting or other Service, yet they might not be able to discover any their secret Purpose, especially since they were so ignorant, as they could not attain the deciphering of those Characters, or any like, though far more easy: And this Cipher was presently sent to the above-named Governors.

His Lordship further resolved in Council to write to the Lords in *England*, to have 6000 of the trained Bands in readinets, to be sent over presently upon the suspected Invasion of Foreign Powers, and to have a Magazine of Victuals, and Munition at *Limerick*, as well to answer the Service in *Munster*, if they should make Descent in those Parts (being most likely) as to be drawn thence to *Gallway*, in case no such Invasion were made, there to answer the Prosecution of the *Connaught* Rebels, intended the Winter following.

All things thus projected for the following Prosecution of this War, his Lordship on the 22d. of *May*, began his intended Journey above-mentioned, from *Dublin*, and the 23d. came to *Tredagh*, and the 25th to *Dundalk*, where his Lordship lay, till they dispersed

disperſed Companies could be drawn thither, and Victuals brought. Here he compoſed all Controverſies between the late Submitties, and ſettled a Correſpondency between them, as well to make them concur in the Defence one of another, as alſo in the Defence of the Pale. Here his Lordſhip received the 28th of *May*, Letters from the Lords in *England*, requiring that no Captain ſhould ſupply his Company with *Paſſ-volants* at pleaſure; but only with ſuch Men as ſhould be ſent out of *England* for Supplies. That the Captains reſuſing to ſhew their Companies when they were required by the Commiſſaries of the Muſters, ſhould be checked two Months Pay. That ſuch Penſioners ſhould be checked as without ſpecial Licence, ſhould be abſent from any Service. And that ſpecial Care ſhould be had to puniſh and prevent ſuch Soldiers, as diſmiſſed by their Captains Paſſes, or running away from their Colours, did duly return into *England*.

The 29th of *May*, upon the Interceſſion of the Lord Preſident by his Letters, (according to the courſe held by Directions out of *England*), the Lord Deputy granted his Warrant for drawing of her Maſteſty's Pardon to *Cnocher ô Mulrian*, a *Munſter* Rebel, chief of his Sept (or name), and 83 Followers, as well Men as Women and Children of that Sept. The ſecond of *June* it was reſolved in Council, that Letters ſhould be written to the Lord Preſident of *Munſter*, requiring him to draw the Forces under him towards *Limrick*, and in thoſe Parts to imploy them moſt part of the following Summer, as well ready to attend the Deſcent of any Foreign Enemy, as fitly laid to give Countenance to the Proſecution of the Rebels in *Connaught*, whether the ſaid Lord Preſident was to be further directed, to ſend 1000 Foot and 50 Horſe, (according to the above-mentioned Project), to the end that the Rebels being proſecuted in that Province, might have no leiſure to join with thoſe of the

North, for disturbing the planting of a Garrison at *Ballishannon*, which Sir *Henry Dockwra* was to plant from the Way of *Loughfoyle*. The 5th of *June* the Lord President advertised that warning had been given to those of *Munster*, for the sending of their Men to the general hoasting above-mentioned, which the Lord Deputy had appointed to meet (according to the old Custom) at the Hill of *Tarrogb*, but that he feared the Scarcity of Victuals and want of Furniture, would either hinder their full Appearance, or make them of small use to the Service. The sixth Day upon the Lord President's Letters, Warrant was given for a Charter of Pardon without Fine, to be granted to 151 Inhabitants about *Moghely* in the County of *Cork*, as well Men as Women and Children, for Life, Lands, and Goods. And the like was granted to *Oswillivan* More of that Province with 481 Followers.

The 8th of *June* being *Monday*, the Lord Deputy drew the Forces out of *Dundalk*, and marched two Miles to the Hill of *Fagher*, near the Pace of the *Moyry*, where he encamped. And while he lay there, his Lordship caused a Fort to be built in the said Pace, at the 3 Mile Water, not rising from thence till he had made this Fort defensible, so as leaving some Warders in it, the Workmen might in his absence finish the Building. The 13th of *June*, in the Camp at the *Fagher*, his Lordship published the Proclamation of the new Coin, all other Monies having been decried three Days before. And by his Lordship's Direction like Proclamations printed at *Dublin*, and thence formerly sent to *Loughfoyle* and *Knockfergus*, and into the Provinces of *Connaught* and *Munster*, were at the same time published together in all Places. The 14th, in the same Camp, his Lordship and the Counsellors there, wrote the following Letter to the Lords in *England*.

IT may please your most honourable Lordships, perceiving by your Lordships Letters of the 18th of *May*, that the Victuals expected to answer our Purpose of planting *Ballyshannon* by *Connaught*, could not arrive in such Quantity nor Time, as might enable us to proceed in that Journey; and receiving some Arguments of your Lordships Inclination to Sir *Henry Dockwra* his Offer to plant that Garrison from *Loughfoyle*, we grew into a new Consultation, in what sort to make the War this Summer. First, it was propounded with the Army to march by *Lecale* and those Parts into *Colrane*, the End whereof should have been to have brought in Subjection all the Woodmen, and utterly taken from *Tyrone* all that Part of *Ulster* between *Colrane* and *Loughsidney* to the *Blackwater*, from whence heretofore the Traitor hath gathered his greatest Strength. The Passages being not very dangerous, and we having the Commodity of the Sea to supply us, we should have made the War that Way to great purpose, and with good Conveniency, and perhaps might have fallen over the *Bann* into *Tyrone*, all other Ways being of extream Danger, to enter into that Country, except that one by *Loughfoyle*. The chief Difficulty that did arise against this Project, was the Danger wherein we should leave all things behind us, if the *Spaniard* should land, when we had carried the chief Force of the Kingdom into the uttermost Corner thereof: and the next was, that we being not able to leave any great Guard for the Pale, should have left it naked to any Attempt of *Tyrone*, and the new reclaimed Rebels to the Mercy of him, as the Pale to the Mercy of both: But in the End we grew to this Resolution. First, in the interim, between this and the Appointment of the general hoasting, (by the which we should be supplied with Carriages, and about which time we expect

Victuals and Munition out of *England*, of the first whereof we are more sparingly provided than may warrant the ingaging our selves into any great Business, and of the second so utterly unfurnished, as we scarce have Powder to maintain a good Day's Fight, nor Tools, nor other Provisions to fortify, which must be our chief Work, as we carry the Rebels before us to dwell by them,) we determine to assure the Passage of the *Moyry*, then to plant a Garrison at *Lecaile*, and to convey some more Men to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Governor of *Carrickfergus*, (who with that Garrison and those Supplies, together with the Advantage that our stirring in all other Places will give him, may go near to work little less Effect, than we with the whole Army should have done :) and lastly, we purpose to lie with the Forces as near *Tyrone* as we can. After when Victuals and Munition should be arrived, (which we hope to receive by the last of *June*, being the time appointed for the general hoasting,) we purpose (God willing) as near as we can to imploy her Majesty's Forces according to the inclosed Project: (This Project I have formerly set down.) With the Particularities of Sir *Henry Dockwra* his Purpose to plant *Ballyshannon*, (sent by Capt. *Vaughan* to your Lordships) we are not acquainted, only Master Treasurer hath told us of such a Proposition in general. But we doubt not, that withal he hath propounded to your Lordships for such Means to accomplish his Work, as must be supplied from thence. For from us he can receive little other Assistance, than our imploying the whole Forces according to the inclosed Project, which in every Part is done as much as may be for his Advantage, neither (which is worse) can we easily have any Intelligence from him, or often hear one from another. But if we perceive that he shall find any Impossibility to plant *Ballyshannon*, we think to advise him, with the whole Gross of his
Strength

Strength to fall into *Tyrone*, about such time as we shall be at *Blackwater*, whereby it may fall out, that we shall (with the help of God) meet at *Dungannon*, and utterly waste all the Country of *Tyrone*, unto the which Course if we be driven, we must resolve to make the War this following Winter in *Connaught*, (first leaving the Northern Border in good Strength,) which we hope will reduce that Province, and ruin *ó Donnel*; for if we keep him out of *Connaught*, he cannot long subsist, and so we hope, for the continual Assurance of that Province, to plant the next Year at *Ballyshannon* with Facility. But if the planting of so many Garrisons do seem, by continuing the Greatness of the Army, to draw on too long her Majesty's Charge, we do first think, that to recover this Kingdom, and to preserve it from being hereafter chargeable, it will be necessary, that *Ballyshannon*, *Loughfoyle*, some Garrisons on the *Bann*, *Lecaile*, *Mount-Norris*, *Armagh*, *Blackwater*; and some other Places, be continually kept, all which Places may be ever victualled by Sea, or they being near together, without any dangerous Passage between them by Land, may be victualled by Sea and Land, without any further Force than their own. And if there be in every Fort some little Keep (or Tower) of Stone built, then as the Wars decrease, or Occasion shall serve, the Places may be guarded with a few Men, and so continue Bridges in Peace, and fit Places to put in more Men to great Purpose, when the Rebellion shall at any time break out. Neither need these little Castles be Works of any great Charge, for they may be easily made such, as this People will hardly force them. To proceed in our Project of this Summer Service. The Victuals already contracted for, must arrive in due time, and your Lordships supply us with good Quantities hereafter. For our only Way to ruin the Rebels, must be to make all

possible waite of the Means for Life, which done, if we be not supplied out of *England*, we shall as well starve our selves as them; but especially where we must make the War, which is far from the Relief of any Friend, and where nothing is to be gotten from the Enemy, except it be by great Chance, since what is in their Countries, they will lightly either hide, or spoil, or convey to inaccessible Fastnesses. And because the greatest Service here is to be done by long and sudden Journies, which cannot be done without Victual, and no Victual but Cheese well carried by the Soldier, without Garrons (or Carriage Jades) we must humbly desire your Lordships to send us some great Quantities of Cheese. In the Provision whereof whatsoever Inconveniencies your Lordships shall find, we assure you they will be ten times countervailed in the Service. Lastly, because the Army is already weak of *English*, and this Journey (without the extraordinary Favour of God) must needs diminish them much, as well by the Sword as Sicknes, we most humbly and earnestly desire your Lordships as soon as conveniently may be, to send us 1000 Shot to *Carlingford* for Supplies, that at our return, we may both strengthen those *English* Companies, which we mean to leave behind us in the North, and such as we carry with us for the Winter Service. The time will be exceeding fit for their arrival; for besides the Succour we may receive from them, if we grow very weak at our return, they will come over well cloathed against the Winter, and may have time to rest, and to be seasoned till *Christmas*, (till when in these Wars it is the most unactive Part of the Year,) and then may be imployed till the End of *May* (which is the only Season to plague these Rebels,) and when the Summer is past (wherein those Rogues revive and live like flies) then our Garrisons being well planted, and the Army strengthened

thened with *English*, we may begin to cast the *Irish* Companies, and to clear the *English* Companies of them. For they must continue good Subjects, or starve if they go out, and have the Queen's Sword hang over them, wheresoever they go. In the mean time we think them necessarily entertained, for we take so many Men from the Rebels, and by them give unto our selves Facility to plant the Foundation of their own Ruin, and both with us and against us to waste them by themselves. For if we should not entertain them, they would lie upon some Country of the Subject, and except it were defended by as many as themselves, they would waste and live upon it, so that in effect the very Numbers entertained would grow all to one reckoning. And for a more particular Instance of the Benefit that ensueth the entertaining these *Irish*, we think we can give your Lordships an Account of above 100 that have this Year been killed with the Bullet, fighting on our Side, who were formerly Rebels (for of such we speak) and questionless would have been so again, if they had lived, and should have been put out to the Queen's Pay. We humbly desire your Lordships to make a favourable Construction both of our Counsels, and the Successes, since those Grounds whereupon we do now justly build our Resolution, may by their Alteration give us just Cause to alter our Course, and the want of such Means, either in Matter or Time as we expect, may utterly hinder it. And that more especially, in case any foreign Succours do arrive. For then the whole Frame of this our Project is broken, and we must be presently relieved out of *England*, or else we with this Kingdom shall suffer much Hazard. And because your Lordships in your last Letters, gave us some Light, that it might be, and leave to inform you, what Likelihood we could here receive, that it would be; we have first the Intelligence which we send your Lordships,

Lordships, with many other Reports. Next we have a constant and of late an extraordinary conceived Confidence in this People. And lastly, we judge what a wise and a powerful Enemy will do, by that which is best and easy for him to do. So as we have many Reasons to think, that *Spain* will send them Helps this Year, and few to think otherwise, save that he hath so often deceived their Expectations. For if the Malice of *Spain* continue to *England*, they have an easy and dangerous Step thereto by *Ireland*; and if they do not embrace the Occasion of this Year, there is no doubt but the next will for ever loose it unto them. Now because it must please your Lordships to proportion our Succours to the Force we are likely to be offended with, and that from us you will expect our own Estates; it may please your Lordships to consider, that the Power of this Kingdom consisteth of her Majesty's *English* Army; of such *Irish* as are here in Companies by themselves, or in *English* Companies to serve as Mercenaries, of the Nobility, Towns, and inbred People of this Nation, which live as Subjects; and lastly of such meer *Irish* Lords and their People, as were lately reclaimed, or still remain in Rebellion. The *English* are few and far dispersed, the *Irish* that serve with us exceeding mercenary, and therefore likely to follow their golden Hopes of *Spain*; the Nobility, Towns, and People, are of so obstinate a Contrariety in Religion, that without Question they are grown malicious to the Government, and affect, under the Protection of the Power of *Spain*, to declare themselves: The *Irish* Lords with us, have the same Motives as they against us, in their last Necessity to join with *Spain*. And all these, especially the Towns, are more stirred on by this new Coin (which though, if the Aid of *Spain* do not arrive, may securely be established, yet if it do, it will breed many dangerous Inconveniencies.)

It may therefore please her Majesty, to have in a Readiness 6000 of the trained Bands of such Countries, serving best for transporting into *Ireland*, to be sent over into *Munster* upon the first Notice of any foreign Power to be arrived there, and some Part of her Navy in a Readiness, with a greater Portion of Munition and Artillery for us, than otherwise this War would require. We do hope to give her Majesty a very good Account of her Kingdom and of our selves, until we shall have Cause to sue for more Relief. And if it must needs fall out, that *Spain* will have war with *England*, we shall be glad that the War of *England* may be made in *Ireland*, and that we her poor Servants shall have the Happiness to strike the first Blows for both her Royal Kingdoms, the which the eternal God preserve long unto her, and her unto them and us, &c.

The same 14th Day, from the said Camp at the *Fagher*, his Lordship wrote to Sir *Henry Dockwra*, Governor of *Loughfoyle*, first touching his Lordships Purposes; That the general Hoasting being the last of *June*, his Lordship presumed within 16 Days after, to be provided of all means to put all the Forces in Action, according to their Distribution (the Project whereof he sent to him inclosed), and to be himself as high as *Armagh*, with such a Power, as *Tyrone* should have good reason to think, that he would do somewhat more, and in the mean time he would (God willing) keep the Field as near *Tyrone*, as his means would give him leave. So as his Lordship having planted at *Armagh* and *Blackwater*, hoped either by lying there to facilitate his planting of *Ballishannon* from *Loughfoyle*, or to break into *Tyrone*, and meet him there. And if *Tyrone's* Army should break, as his Lordship expected, he thought to find no great Difficulty herein, but otherwise held the Passage to *Dungannon* not to be ventured that way. But touching the planting at *Ballishannon*,
that

that Sir *Henry Dockwra* should not build upon any Supplies from his Lordship, of Victuals, Munition, or Tools: For Artillery that he might use that he had at *Loughfoyle*, and either bring it back by Water or be after supplied thereof from *Dublin*. For Munition, Tools, and like Necessaries, that his Lordship could spare none, and if he could, yet had no speedy means to send them. For intelligence, that he had sent him a Cipher, which he might use safely in writing to his Lordship, not caring how the Messengers sped, so the Letters were not understood. That he had sent the like Cipher to Sir *Arthur Chichester* at *Knockfergus*, with whom he should have often Intelligence, and might that way write most safely to his Lordship. That when he knew his own means, and by his Lordship's Project, should find him in readiness to answer his attempts, he should chuse his own time for planting *Ballishannon*, and as near as he could, send his Lordship certain notice of the time, and use all possible Expedition. But if he could not plant there for any want or difficulty, that then he should agree with Sir *Arthur Chichester*, that they might both at one time break into *Tyrone*, where his Lordship, upon notice given him, would meet them, in which Journey, besides all other Effects of War, they should burn all the Dwellings, and destroy the Corn on the Ground, which might be done by encamping upon it, and cutting it down with Swords, and other ways, holding it best they should spoil all the Corn, except that which he could gather, wherein he should not regard the Disswasion of the *Irish* Submitties in his Camp.

The same 14th Day we dislodged from the *Fagher*, and leaving the *Moyry* Fort defensible, with Warders to guard it, and the Workmen, being to build a Tower or Keep of Stone, we marched 8 Miles, and encamped at *Carickbane*, a little beyond the *Newry*. The 15th his Lordship rose, and
marching

marching some 15 Miles, encamped in *Euagh* the Country of *Mac Gennis*. The late Rebels near *Dundalk* being all submitted, his Lordship had drawn Sir *Richard Moryson* with his Regiment from that Government, purposing to place him in *Lecaile*, nearer to the Enemy. And intending to march thither with the Army the next Day, lest the Rebels should have Leisure to burn the Country, and carry away the Prey, his Lordship sent Sir *Richard Moryson* this Evening with six Companies of Foot, and one of Horse, to march all Night into *Lecaile*, who coming suddenly on the Rebels, took all the Prey, and in taking of *Down Patrick*, the Bishop's Seat, one of the *Bradies* was taken, and his Head cut off, the rest yielding to Mercy there, and in all adjoining Places. Here his Lordship was advertised from the Secretary of *Ireland*, that the News of the *Spanish* Invasion this Summer was seconded from divers, coming from *Cales*. The 16th Day his Lordship marched with the Army (through high Mountains and Woods, and some dangerous Paces) 7 Miles to the *Blackstaff* River, near a strong Castle, called *Dundrom*, lying on the North Side of the Paces, where the plain Country opens into *Lecaile*, being an Island compassed on the West side with this River, and on the three other sides with the Sea, and two small arms thereof. This Night his Lordship with some Horse passed the *Blackstaff* Bridge, and rode three Miles into *Lecaile*, to view the Country. In the way *Phelim mac Ever* submitted himself, and yielded to the Queen his Castle of *Dundrom*. Also *Mac Carty* submitted himself, and drew his Creaghts (or Cattle, Servants and Goods) into *Lecaile*. His Lordship returned to the Camp, and the next Day rode to *Down Patrick*, and thence by *St. Patrick's Well* to *Argliss*, being six Miles, in which Town two Castles yielded to the Queen, and the Warders upon their Lives saved, gave up their Arms. A third Castle there had been held for the Queen

Queen all the time of the Rebellion, by one *Jordane*, never coming out of the same for three Years past, till now by his Lordship's coming he was freed, and to him was given a Reward from the Queen by Concordatum, besides his Lordship's Bounty of his private Purse. After Dinner his Lordship rode two Miles to *Russel's Town*, and four Miles to the Camp at *Blackstaff*. The 18th Day *Mac Rory*, Captain of *Kilwarden* adjoining, was received to the Queen's Mercy upon his Submission. And Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Governor of *Knockfergus*, all this Day expected, came in the Evening, to whom his Lordship that Night imparted his Designs in the present Service, and to the same effect sent a Packet by him to Sir *Henry Dockwra*, Governor of *Loughfoyle*; and to them both, as also to Sir *Richard Moryson* being to be left Governor of *Lecaile*, his Lordship gave Proclamations to be published for establishing the above-mentioned new Coin. All this time *Arthur Mac Gennis* the chief of his Name, and *Edmund Boy Mac Gennis* his Uncle, made means to be received to her Majesty's Mercy, but could not obtain the favour, without first doing some Service. This Day his Lordship and the Council (following the Army) gave 30 l. by Concordatum to *Phelimy Ever Mac Gennis* for some special Services; and *Balintbor* a strong Castle was taken by our Men, with divers Cows and other Goods, six of the Ward being killed, and the rest swimming away.

His Lordship having placed Sir *Richard Moryson* (with 500 Foot, and 50 Horse under his Command) to govern *Lecaile* (which had their Residency at *Down*), did march back on the 19th Day 11 Mile, to 5 Mile Church, near the *Newry*, passing one Pace exceeding strong by Nature, and plashed with Trees, which lay at the end of the Plains of *Lecaile*, and Entrance into the woody Mountains. And before the Entry of this Pace, Sir *Arthur Chichester*

Chichester having received 200 Foot to strengthen his Garrison, returned back to *Knockfergus*. The 20th Day his Lordship marched with his Forces 3 Miles to *Carickbane*, lying Northward of the *Newry*.

This Day Sir *Henry Davers* lying at *Mount Norris*, advertised his Lordship, that *Tyrone* lying in a fastness, and his Men never venturing upon the Plain, the Soldiers left under his Command there, could not in all this time get any occasion to fight with him, whereof they shewed great Desire, only the Horse often shewing themselves upon the Hills, had kept him beyond *Armagh*, where he with his Creaghts lay, feeding some thousands of Cows. Whereupon because his Lordship desired to preserve the Grass near *Armagh* for his Horse Troops, as also to make store of Hay there for the Winter following. He sent Sir *William Godolphin* with his Lordship's Troop of Horse under his Command, to second the Forces at *Mount Norris*, in attempting some Service upon *Tyrone*, meaning to draw presently his whole Forces thither. But in the mean time Sir *Francis Stafford's* Lieutenant of his Horse, sent by Sir *Henry Davers* to spy the Rebels Proceedings, had passed to the view of *Armagh*, and found that *Tyrone* had sent back all his Cows, upon the hearing of his Lordship's Return out of *Lecaile*. For which cause, and upon Notice that *Tyrone* had taken a Day's Victuals for his Men, as if he meant to attempt something, his Lordship recalled Sir *William Godolphin* with his Troop. The 21st Day his Lordship lay still, in regard that, for Difficulty of getting Garrons (that is Carriage Jades), or by some Negligence, Victuals were not (according to his former Directions) put into *Mount Norris*, to which Place he purposed to draw with his Forces. This Day three Days Bread came to his Lordship's Forces, which instead of other Victuals lived upon Beeves. And his Lordship writ to Sir *Henry Davers*,
that

that according to his daily use of late Days, he should the next Morning early draw the Forces of *Mount Norris*, towards *Armagh*, and should on the sudden possess the Abbey there, and the Town, whether his Lordship would also draw the Army presently for his second.

The 22d. Day, his Lordship having, by extraordinary pay above the Queen's Price, gotten Garrons, and carrying Victuals with him for *Mount Norris*, and for the Garrison he intended to plant at *Armagh*, marched six Miles near to *Mount Norris*, where Sir *Henry Davers* with that Garrison met him, having not been able, for some Difficulties, to execute his Lordship's former Directions. From thence his Lordship (taking with him the said Garrison) marched forward seven Miles, and that Night encamped a little beyond *Armagh*, where some few Rebels shewed themselves braggingly, but attempted nothing. His Lordship before his return from *Lecale*, was purposed to leave such Forces at *Mount Norris*, as might plant the Garrison at *Armagh* when they found Opportunity: But lest they should have been hindred by a greater Force, his Lordship rather than to return towards the Pale (for the attending thereof the general Hoasting, where his Army should have spent the same Victuals it now did) was resolved himself in Person to plant it, imagining that *Tyrone*, not looking for him till the general hoasting, would not have his whole Forces with him, nor by that Reason, and an Opinion and Fear that his Lordship intended to march further into *Tyrone*, would have any mind to follow his Lordship, or hinder his Retreat when he should have weakened his Forces by that Plantation. Therefore the 23d. Day his Lordship making a shew to draw from his Camp beyond *Armagh* towards *Blackwater*, caused his Forces to make a Stand for his Retreat, and so himself with his Followers and Servants rode more than a Mile forward, to view the

the way to *Blackwater* Fort, and the Place of the famous *Blackwater* Defeat, under the Marshal *Bagnol's* Conduct, and having passed a pace without one shot made at his Troop, he returned to his Forces, and marching back, he left a Garrison of 750 Foot, and 100 Horse, at the Abbey of *Armagh*, under the Command of Sir *Henry Davers*, and that Night marched with the rest near to *Mount Norris*, where he encamped, having in this march from *Armagh*, viewed the Ford, where General *Norris*, formerly was hurt, making a Stand with his Horse, to secure his Foot distressed by *Tyrone's* Charge.

The 24th, his Lordship leaving at *Mount Norris* the Foot and Horse of that Garrison, marched himself with 1250 Foot, and 150 Horse, six Miles to *Donanury*, being two Miles short of the *Newry*. This was a Hill naturally and artificially of old fortified, where in regard of the weakness of his Forces he encamped, purposing there to attend and solicit the hastning, to send to him from the Pale, all the means he expected to furnish him for his intended Journey, to build the demolished Fort of *Blackwater*.

Here his Lordship's Army was mustered, and was by Pole.

Captains and Officers 87. Targets 112. Pikes 291. Muskets 125. Callivers 635. In all 1250. Whereof besides Captains and Officers, *English* 593. *Irish* the rest. Wanting Swords 191.

The 26th Day, his Lordship sent Victuals to the Garrisons at *Mount Norris* and at *Armagh*. The 29th Day his Lordship received Advertisement, that Sir *Henry Daver's* drawing out the Garrison of *Armagh* into the Fastness, where *Bryan mac Art* lay with his Cattle, had killed divers of his Men, taken many Horses from him, and spoiled much of his Baggage, besides 300 Cows which he had taken

that according to his daily use of late Days, he should the next Morning early draw the Forces of *Mount Norris*, towards *Armagh*, and should on the sudden possess the Abbey there, and the Town, whether his Lordship would also draw the Army presently for his second.

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from *mac Gennis*. And the same Day his Lordship received the Examinations of certain *Waterford* Mariners, who testified, that being at the *Groyne*, they were pressed there to serve the King of *Spain*, in a fly Boat of 200 Tun carrying Bread to *Lisborn*; where there was an Army of 3000 Men to be shipped with Victuals and Munition for *Ireland*, and there heard that *Tyrone's* Agent lay at Court, importuning Aid to be sent him presently, being not able to subsist any longer without speedy Aid. And that the Examinates demanded if they were Pilots for the *Irish* Coast; and finding they should be employed that way, had secretly got shipping to transport themselves into *France*, and so returned home.

The 30th Day *Arthur mac Gennis* chief of the Name, terrified by the Plantation of the Garrison in *Lecaile*, made humble Suit for Mercy, and obtained her Majesty's Protection for nine Days, conditionally that he should come the *Saturday* following, to submit himself in Person to her Majesty's Mercy, and crave her gracious Pardon at *Dundalk*, where his Lordship then purposed to be. And *Rory Oge mac Gennis*, obtained the like Protection for one Month. The same Day his Lordship upon the Lord President of *Munster* his intercessory Letters, granted Warrant for her Majesty's Pardon, to be passed for 270 Artificers and Husband-men of the County of *Kerry*. The first of *July* his Lordship had purposed to rise from *Dunanury*, and to return himself to *Dundalk*: But he stayed that Day, in respect the Weather was very foul, and the rather to countenance the Convoy going with Bisket up to *Mount Norris* and *Armagh*.

Hitherto his Lordship had kept the Field, rather to make *Tyrone* keep his Forces together, and so to weaken him, than for purpose of any other Service of Moment: but now hearing from *Dublin*, that the

the rising out for the general hoasting, came slowly, and not only Victuals were not yet arrived there, but even the Carriages and Beeves for the Army, were like in great part to fail; the second Day of July his Lordship dispersed his Forces into the said Garrisons fronting nearest upon the Rebels, and so with his Followers and Servants rode to *Dundalk*, leading with him of his Army only three Companies of Foot, and one Troop of Horse. The third Day, Sir *Francis Stafford* Governor of the *Newry*, brought *Arthur Mac Gennis* to *Dundalk*, who made his Submission to her Majesty, kneeling before the Lord Deputy and Counsel. Then he made certain humble Requests: First for his Pardon which was granted: Secondly, for Lands granted to his Father by Letters Pattents, which his Lordship promised to confirm, excepting only the Lands of *Glasny Mac Gennis*, on whom he should make no Imposition. That he might take in such Tenants as would come from the Rebels, acquainting the Governor of the *Newry* therewith before he received them, which was granted. Fourthly, That he might retain and absolutely command all his old Tenants, till *Albollintide* next, which was granted, excepting *Glasny Mac Gennis*. Fifthly, That he might enjoy the Corn he had sowed in *Lecaile*, which being sowed on other Mens Lands, could not be granted, only favourable Respect to him was promised. Sixthly, That his People might be freed from all Actions of private wrongs in the War, which was granted upon a fine of three hundred Cows, presently to be delivered for the Army. The same time *Patrick Mac Mahown*, Nephew to the chief of that Name, was upon like humble Submission received to her Majesty's Mercy, with Promise of his Pardon.

The fifth Day the Lord President and Counsel of *Munster*, by Letters desired his Lordship, to recal his Warrant of martial Law, given to the Lord

Burk, as well because the Lords abused the same, to draw followers to them, and to revenge their private Quarrels, as because the whole Province was peaceable, and willing to be governed by judicial Courses, and this Warrant his Lordship presently recalled.

This day Sir *Oliver St. John* brought Letters from the Lords in *England*, whereby her Majesty gave Direction, that the Lord Deputy should publicly to all the Army, and privately to the chief Commanders, give Thanks from her Majesty to them, for the Zeal and Duty they had shewed in her Service, and signify her gracious Acceptance of their Endeavours. The sixth Day his Lordship stayed at *Dundalk*, to hasten the Supplies of the general hoasting, which came in slowly, and to order the *Irish* Forces of the same fitly for Defence of the Pale. This Day Captain *Thomas Roper*, with his Company of Foot, according to his Lordship's former Directions, came from *Kells*, to serve in the Army under his Lordship. And while his Lordship lay here, News came from *Armagh*, that Sir *Henry Davers* had taken some chief Horses from *Tyrone's* Camp, and had entred *Mac Carty's* Country, being one of the greatest Fastnesses in *Ireland*, and brought from thence a great Prey.

His Lordship finding that the rising out of the general hoasting, would do little good in the Army, and they being willing to undertake their own Defence, which at their own Peril his Lordship thought he might best commit to their Trust. The seventh of *July* his Lordship gave Order, that the Forces of the general hoasting, for the Counties of *Dublin* and *Lowth*, should lie at *Lowth* under the Command of the Lord of *Lowth*, and Mr. *Garland* of *Killencoule*. That those of *Meath* should lie at *Kells*, under the Command of the Lord of *Tremelstone*, and Mr. *Dillon* his Deputy. That those of *Westmeath* should be commanded by the Lord of *Delvin*, and any Deputy his Lordship should chuse;

so that his Lordship or his Deputy should always in Person be resident with them, and keep them together ready to answer any Service, upon pain of a Fine and Imprisonment, to such as should disobey. That those of *Kildare*, should under the Earl of *Kildare's* Command, lie at *Athy*, or elsewhere, at his Lordship's Discretion: And that the Sheriff of the Shire command them under his Lordship.

The ninth Day his Lordship marched from *Dundalk* towards the North, and gathering the Forces to him out of the adjoining Garrisons, encamped at *Lattenbur*, beyond the *Newry*, where he lay still the tenth Day, till the Victuals was in Readiness to be carried to *Armagh*. The eleventh Day his Lordship marched some 4 Miles, to an Hill little beyond Mount *Norris*, and that Day his Lordship was advertis'd, that Sir *Arthur Chichester* had taken the sole Castle held in those Parts of *Knockfergus* by *Brian Mac Art*, namely the *Reagh*, and that Sir *Richard Moryson* in *Lecaile*, had taken in two Loughs (or Islands in Lakes,) being all the Fastnesses (or Places of Strength) which the said *Brian Mac Art* held there. The twelfth Day the Army marched early in the Morning to *Armagh*, and there resting some Hours, marched again after Dinner a Mile and a Half beyond *Armagh*, and there upon an Hill encamped.

The thirteenth Day of *July*, the Lord Deputy with the Army rose from the former Camp and marched one Mile and a half, to an Hill on this side (namely the South-side) of *Blackwater*, where he made a Stand, *Tyrone* and his Horse and Foot, shewing themselves out of a Wood, beyond a Meadow on the other side of the River, and that with Trumpets and divers Colours, (some won at the old Defeat of the *English* in those Parts,) and with some Drums, rather for a bragging Ostentation than otherwise, since they fighting like Thieves upon dangerous Passages, used not to appear in such warlike Manner. And from the Trenches kept by the Re-

bels on the other Side of the Water, some Vollics of Shot were poured upon us, which fell down on every Side dead on the Ground, by reason of the Distance between us, and did small or no Hurt. We having a Rabinet and a Falcon, made from this Hill, some shot at the Rebels Troop far distant, whereupon their Puppets Bravery suddenly vanished; and according to their wonted Manner, they hid themselves in the Woods. Presently the Lord Deputy sent 300 Foot to another Hill on this Side of the River, adjoining to the old Fort lying beyond the Water, and his Lordship rode to that Hill, whom many voluntary Gentlemen with his Servants followed. And in the Way myself and some others lighted in a Valley to refresh our selves by walking, but found an Enemy's Soil no Place for Recreation, for out of the Ditches and Furrows many Shot were made at us; whereupon we took our Horses, one shot dangerously, yet (God be praised) without hurt passing between my Legs, while one of my Feet was in my Stirrop, and so we retired to the Gross, standing in more Safety. Towards Evening we incamped upon the above-mentioned Hill, at which time we saw far off by a Wood Side, *Tyrone* draw some Horse over to our Side of the Water, either (as we imagined) to assail *Turlogh mac Henry* of the *Fews*, lately submitted, and coming after us to attend the Lord Deputy in this Service, or else to confer with him and his Company: But as soon as Sir *William Godolphin*, Commander of the Lord Deputy's Troop of Horse, by his Lordship's Direction, made towards *Tyrone*, he with his Horse presently retired back. That Night we made Gabions to enter the Rebels Trenches, and sent the Rabinet and Falcon to be planted on the other Hill, where our above-mentioned 300 Foot lay. All the Night the Rebels out of the Trenches shot at our Men, while they were busy in working.

ing. But the 14th Day very early at the dawning of the Day, upon our first discharging of the said great Pieces, charged with Musket Bullets, and after some three Volleys of our small Shot, the Rebels quitted their Trenches, basely running into the Woods, and our 300 Men passing the River, under Capt. *Thomas Williams* his Command, possessed the Trenches, and the old ruined Fort, with the Plain in which it lay, the Wood being almost Musket Shot Distance, whether the Rebels were fled, and had by Night carried their hurt and slain Men. Presently the Lord Deputy sent one Regiment to lye beyond the *Blackwater*, upon a Hill where his Lordship had made Choice to build a new Fort. Upon View of the Trenches made upon every Ford, his Lordship found they were strongly and artificially fortified, wondring much that either they should so laboriously fortify them, if they meant not to defend them, or should so cowardly quit such strong Places, and so suddenly, if they had former Resolution to make them good. In gaining them we had some 20 Men hurt, and 2 slain, and they had greater Loss, especially in the going off, though we could not truly know it.

The 15th Day his Lordship with a Troop of Horse, and 400 Foot, drew towards *Tyrone's* Wood, and viewed the Places in the Sight of the Rebels, who ran away with their Cows, only at his Lordship's Retreat making some few Shot at our Men, but hurting not one Man. In the Evening, Capt. *Trevel*, and Capt. *Constable* with their Companies came to the Camp, sent thither from *Lecaille* to strengthen the Army, according to his Lordship's Direction to Sir *Richard Moryson*, after the Country was all taken in, and *Mac Gennis* the greatest Neighbour Rebel had submitted himself.

The 16th Day the Lord Deputy drew out a Regiment of *Irish*, commanded by Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, and passing the *Blackwater*, marched to *Benburb*, the old House of *Shane ô Neal*, lying on the left Hand of our Camp, at the Entrance of great Woods. There our Men made a Stand, in a fair green Meadow, having our Camp and the Plains behind them, and the Wood on both Sides, and before them. The Rebels drew in great Multitudes to these Woods. Here we in the Camp, being our selves in Safety, had the Pleasure to have the full View of an hot and long Skirmish, our loose Wings sometimes beating the Rebels on all Sides into the Woods, and sometimes being driven by them back to our Colours in the midst of the Meadow, (where as soon as our Horse charged, the Rebels presently ran back) and this Skirmish continuing with like Variety some three Hours: For the Lord Deputy, as he saw the Numbers of the Rebels increase, so drew other Regiments out of the Camp, to second the Fight. So that at last the Rebel had drawn all his Men together, and we had none but the By-guards left to safe-guard the Camp, all the rest being drawn out. Doctor *Latwar*, the Lord Deputy's Chaplain, not content to see the Fight with us in Safety, but (as he had formerly done) affecting some Singularity of Forwardness, more than his Place required, had passed into the Meadow where our Colours stood, and there was mortally wounded with a Bullet in the Head, upon which he died the next Day. Of the *English* not one more was slain, only Capt. *Thomas Williams* his Leg was broken, and two others hurt, but of the *Irish* on our Side 26 were slain, and 75 were hurt. And those *Irish* being such as had been Rebels, and were like upon the least Discontent to turn Rebels, and such as were kept in Pay rather to keep them from taking Part with the Rebels, than any Service they could do us, the
Death

Death of those unpeaceable Sword-men, though falling on our Side, yet was rather Gain, than Loss to the Common-wealth. Among the Rebels, *Tyrone's* Secretary, and one chief Man of the *Hagan's*, and (as we credibly heard) far more than 200 Kerne were slain. And lest the Disparity of Losses often mentioned by me, should favour of a partial Pen, the Reader must know, that besides the Fortune of the War turned on our side, together with the Courage of the Rebels abated, and our Men heartned by Successes, we had Plenty of Powder, and sparing not to shoot at random, might well kill many more of them, than they ill furnished of Powder, and commanded to spare it, could kill of ours.

These two last Days our Pioneers had been busied in fortifying and building a new Fort at *Blackwater*, not far distant from the old Fort, demolished by the Rebels, and for some Days following, his Lordship specially intended the Furtherance and Finishing of this Work, so as many Soldiers were extraordinarily hired to work therein as Pioneers.

The 19th Day his Lordship wrote to the Lords in *England*, that had not the *Irish* Submittees for the new Coin (now current over all) furnished the Army with Beeves, it had been in great Distress, since the Victuals of the new Contract were not arrived, and that of the old Store consisted principally of salt Fish, whereof the Soldier could not feed, especially in Summer, besides that by long keeping it was of ill Condition, so as Infection was feared in the Army, praying that in the next Contracts, the Soldier might be fed therewith only one Day in the Week. That he had in his Directions to Sir *Henry Dockwra*, given him Choice, either with the Countenance of his Lordship's Army on this Side *Tyrone*, to go forward with planting *Ballishannon*, or concurring with the Governor of *Knockfergus*, to enter into *Tyrone*, where his Lordship upon Notice
would

would meet them; and in respect he since understood, that he wanted Tools for the Plantation, he thought the second Project would rather be followed by him. That *Tyrone* lay with all his Forces to hinder his Lordship from passing to *Dungannon*, which he most feared, and had no Fastness but only this to stop it, so as he doubted not to break in to meet Sir *Henry Dockwra*, if he could once be assured of his Resolution. Further, he besought their Lordships to give Warrant for Allowance to the Captains for broken Arms, upon bringing the old, because upon the breaking of Pieces, the Soldiers were turned to serve with Pikes, and our Shot diminished daily, and the Pikes were increased more than our Use required, the Captain excusing himself, that upon breaking of Pieces, he was not able to provide other Arms than Pikes for his Men. Likewise he advertised to their Lordships, that since the last Dispatch, Sir *Henry Dockwra* had taken in *Newtown*, being some sixteen Miles from *Dungannon* (*Tyrone's* chief Seat,) on the North Side, (as he the Lord Deputy had planted at *Blackwater*, being some fifteen Miles from *Dungannon*, on the South Side;) and that Sir *Henry Dockwra* had spoiled and burned the Country thereabout, and had taken some 1000 Cows from the Parts near the *Lough* of *Earne*. That Sir *John Barkley*, Governor of the Forces at the *Anneley*, had met with *Tyrrel's* Men, as they passed towards *Ophaly*, (for which Purpose that Garrison was specially laid there,) and had taken from them 300 Cows, and killed some of them, and had stopped them from troubling that Country. And that he the Lord Deputy with the Army had destroyed the Rebels Corn about *Armagh* (whereof he found great Abundance,) and would destroy the rest, this Course causing Famine, being the only sure Way to reduce or root out the Rebels. Finally, praying their Lordships (as formerly) to
send

send 1000 Shot for Supplies, the strengthening of the *English* being the next Way to diminish her Majesty's Charge, since the *Irish* were kept in Pay rather to prevent their fighting against us, than for Confidence in their fighting for us.

The same 19th Day of *July*, the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir *Robert Cecil*, her Majesty's Secretary, that he found upon good Consideration, that the Government of *Connaught* was not in his Disposal, and therefore being loth to exceed his Commission, he would only assure him, that as it was requisite, a Man of Experience, and fit for the present Service, should have that Government, so he conceived none to be fitter than Sir *Oliver Lambert*, who had already deserved well in this Service, and would (in his Opinion) be able to do her Majesty as good Service, as any in that Place, whom (if it might stand with her Majesty's Pleasure, to give him Warrant,) he was desirous to imploy in those Parts, fearing it would be a great Hindrance to his intended Work, if any should be put into that Government, who might prove unfit, or unable to make that War; in which respect, he having no other End but the Advancement of her Majesty's Service, was bold to make it his humble Suit, that Sir *Oliver Lambert* might be placed in that Government.

While the Army lay at *Blackwater* to build the new Fort, his Lordship on the 20th of *July*, drew out two Regiments into the Woods, as well to view the Paces, and provoke the Rebels, as to fetch some Houses thence, for the building of our Fort, and to cut a Field of Corn lying on the Skirt of the Woods; which was all performed; the Rebels on the further Side of the *Blackwater*, only making a slight Skirmish with our Men, upon their Retreat on this Side the River. The 22d Day, we cut all the Corn by the Bog and Wood Side, near our Fort, except that which our Men
had

had Power to reap. The 23d Day Capt. *Thomas Williams* with his Company, being left to govern the new Fort (who before the *Blackwater* Defeat did valiantly defend the old Fort there, being after demolished by the Rebels) his Lordship with the Army dislodged, and at our rising, a Proclamation was made, that howsoever *Tyrone* vaunted, that his Pardon was offered him, and he might have it at pleasure, her Majesty was not only resolved never to receive him to Mercy, but was pleased again to renew her gracious Offer, that whosoever brought him alive, should have 2000 *l.* and whosoever brought his Head, should have 1000 *l.* for Reward. Thence we marched two little Miles to an Hill South West-ward in *Henry Oge's* Country, where we incamped, and cut down the Corn on every Side. The 27th Day his Lordship leaving Sir *Henry Folliot's* Regiment to guard the Camp, drew out three Regiments, expecting that the Rebels would fight, who shewed themselves on an Hill near us, with all their Horse and Foot, and sounding of Trumpets, yet our Men not only cutting down the Corn close by them, but entering the Woods to cut Corn there, and burning many Houses in the Skirts of the Woods, they were so patient, as after one Volley of Shot, they retired into the thickest Woods. The same Day the Army dislodging, marched a Mile or two more Southward, where we cut down great Abundance of Corn with our Swords (according to our Fashion,) and here *Shane mac Donnel Groome*, *Tyrone's* Marshal (whose Corn this was) upon humble Submission was received to her Majesty's Mercy, and came to his Lordship in Person the same Night at our setting down in our last Camp, whither we returned. The 28th his Lordship, leaving Sir *Christopher St. Laurence* his Regiment to guard the Camp, drew out three Regiments, both in the Morning and Evening, to countenance two Con-
voys

voys of Victuals. This Day his Lordship sent a Dispatch to Sir *Henry Dockwra*, about their concurring in the present Services, and the like to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, to the same Purpose. His Lordship staid the longer in these Parts, to see the Forts well victualled, and to cut down the Corn, whereof he found great Store.

The 29th Day his Lordship was advertised, that Sir *Henry Poore* had scattered and broken 300 Rebels in *Leax*, and had beggared them by divers Preys of Cattle taken from them, and among them, being of the Sept of *ó Mores*, had killed, burnt and hanged 40 at least, and after had slain in Fights *ó Connor mac Lyre*, and most of his Men, and hurt many of those which escaped.

And this Day great Store of Victuals for the Forts came from the *Newry* with a Convoy safely to the Camp. The 30th Day his Lordship rose with the Army, and marched Northward back to the new Fort of *Blackwater*, and beyond it, in all some three Miles, along the South Side of the River, and there his Lordship incamped close upon the Bogs and the Fastnesses (or fortified Passages) in the Wood. The same Evening his Lordship drew some choice Men out of every Regiment, and some Troops of Horse, and with them rode to view the Country, and woody Places, more specially that Pace which lay right before us Northward, where the nearest and best Passage was to enter *Tyrone*, the Arch-traitor's chief House *Dungannon*, being some ten Miles distant, to which, after the Passage of this Pace and *Blackwater*, the plain Country lay open, yet being in some Parts boggy. Here *Tyrone's* Men lay intrenched on the other Side of the River, in such Trenches as he had made to impeach the building of our new Fort at *Blackwater*, and cowardly quitted them (as is above mentioned.) The Rebels bestowed some Vollies of Shot on his Lordship's Troops, but they returned

turned safely, having only one Man hurt. And here one of the three Trumpets in *Tyrone's* Pay, ran from him to our Camp.

The 31st Day his Lordship drew out (as before) and that Day and the first of *August* next following, cut down the Wood, to clear the said Pace, lying between us and the said Passage over *Blackwater*. And this Day the Rebels attempted to cut off a Guard, which we had placed on a remote Hill, to second the Workmen cutting the Wood, but were by them and the Workmen stoutly received, and by our seconds beaten back.

At the same time, by accident we had almost lost all our best Horses: For at the Alarm given, the Horses being frightened with the Skirmish, and with divers Horsemen hurrying out to answer the Alarm, broke their Headstals, and ran back to *Armagh*, and some of the best as far as the *Newry*, whither our Men following, did recover them all: But had the Rebels Horsemen followed them, no doubt they might have caught them, and defeated our Men loosely following them, and so by this Advantage have done us more Mischief, than they could otherwise have done with their Forces doubled.

The second of *August* his Lordship with the Army rose, and marched back to *Armagh*, to the end he might shun all Paces, and from thence have an open Passage into *Art mac Baron's* Country. We marched six Miles to *Armagh*, and three to *Rawlaghtany*, where while we encamped, Sir *Henry Davers* with 300 Foot, and 40 Horse, was sent into a Fastness to burn some 20 fair Timber Houses, which he performed; and about the time to set the Watch, he returned towards the Camp, and at his Retreat all *Tyrone's* Forces guarded with 300 Horse, skirmished with our Men, but they seconded out of the Camp, came off orderly, the Rebels following them to our very Camp, into which they poured a Volley of shot, and by reason of the Fastnesses adjoining,

joining, and Night approaching, retired in Safety.

Here his Lordship was advertised, that the Earl of *Ormond* had executed in the borders of *Kilkenny* and *Tipperary* 29 Rebels, of which *Tibot Leyragh Butler*, and *David Bourke*, and *Ulick Bourke*, were the Chief, and that the Company under his Lordship's Command, had slain 28, of which two principal Men of the *ó Mores*, one *ó Kelly*, one Captain *Edmund Roe Bourke*, and one *Richard Bourke*, Sonto *Ulick*, were the Chief.

The 3d. of *August* we rose, and having marched 3 Miles back, we encamped between the *Paces* and *Armagh*, a little beyond *Armagh* towards the North, to the end our Messengers and our Convoys for Victuals might more safely pass (which was the chief end of our returning), and that we might have better Grass for our Horses, all the higher Country above, being eaten by the Rebels Creaghs (or Cattle), and all the way we marched, the Rebels in their Fastnesses drew down close by, and followed us all the way, being very strong. Here the Commissary took a View of the Army in Field with his Lordship.

Regiments.

First, of Sir *Benjamin Berry* his Lordship's Lieutenant of his Foot, in List 825, by Pole pretent in the Camp 490. 2. Regiment of Sir *Oliver St. John's*, in List 875, by Pole 533. 3. Regiment of Sir *Henry Folliot*, in List 500, by Pole 305. 4. Regiment of Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, in List, 750, by Pole 400. Total in List 2950, by Pole 1728.

Herein are not contained either Officers present, or the Sick, or Hurt, or upon other Occasions absent. The fourth Day some Companies were drawn out to cut the Pace of *Armagh*, and the Rebels being
in

in fight, offered not to skirmish with them. But towards Night they drew down strong out of the Woods, to an Hill under which we lay encamped in a fair Meadow. They came with Cries and Sound of Drums and Bag-pipes, as if they would attempt the Camp, and poured into it some 2 or 3000 shot, hurting only two of our Men. But his Lordship commanding that none in the Camp should stir, had lodged in a Trench some 400 shot, charging them not to shoot till the Rebels approached near. And after these our Men had given them a Volley in their Teeth, they drew away, and we heard no more of their Drums or Bag-pipes, but only mournful Cries; for many of their best Men were slain, and among the rest 1 Horseman of great Account, and one *Pierce Lacy* an Arch-rebel of *Munster*. The next Morning we found some dead Bodies at the Skirt of the Wood, and 3 scattered Pieces. Hence his Lordship sent Direction to Sir *John Barkley*, to bring with him to the Camp a Regiment from the *Annaly* and *Liscannon*, because *Tyrone* was grown strong by the coming to him of his *mac Gwire*, and his *mac Mahown*, and of *Cormock mac Baron*, (coming to him from the Frontiers of *Loughfoyle*). The 5th Day his Lordship sent again some shot, with Pioncers, to cut the Pace close by the Rebels.

The 6th Day his Lordship purpoled to rise and meet our Convoy bringing Victuals from the *Newry*: But being stayed by ill Weather, sent early some Horse to stay the Convoy, till his Lordship drew down towards those Parts. This Day his Lordship gave order to Master Treasurer, that Proportions of new Money should be sent to all the Market Towns, to change the same for Sterling, and that Proclamations should be made in them to decry the old Sterling Money, and only make the new to be current. The 7th his Lordship rose to draw towards the *Newry*, and marching to *Mount Norris*, encamped near the said Fort.

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The 8th. Day his Lordship dispatched the Earl of *Clanrickard* into *Connaught*, to command the Forces in those Parts, having sent for Sir *John Barkley* to come with a Regiment to the Camp. Here his Lordship gave Warrant for the passing of her Majesty's Pardon for Land, Life, and Goods, to *Arthur mac Gennis*, chief of his Sept, with some 170 Followers.

Here his Lordship received Letters out of *England* from Mr. Secretary, signifying that the Lord President had sent to her Majesty divers Advertisements, that the *Spaniards* would presently land in some Part of *Munster*, from whence the Lord Deputy for Necessity had lately drawn 1000 Foot and 50 Horse into *Connaught*. That her Majesty did well allow of his Lordship's Care in drawing those Men to that Service, and not losing the present certainty for Apprehension of the future, not so assured. That it was probable that the King of *Spain* would do something now at the upshot, and though it was not credible, that he would send 10 or 12000 Men into *Ireland*, yet since he had from *February* last begun a Foundation to provide Forces for the *Low-Countries* or *Ireland*, as his Affairs should require: And since the *Low-Country* Army was reinforced by Land out of *Italy*, her Majesty thought he might with ease transport 4 or 5000 Men for *Ireland*, and was like to do it, and so he might for the time turn the State of *Ireland*, would think them well bestowed, if he should lose them all at the Year's end. That in this Respect her Majesty had resolved to leave 5000 Men to be in readiness, and to send 2000 of them presently for *Munster*, to arrive there by the 10th of this Month; so as if the *Spaniards* should land, the Lord President might be enabled to keep the Provincials from Revolt, till he the Lord Deputy might come thither, and more Forces might be sent out of *England*; and if they

should not invade *Ireland*, then his Lordship might keep the 1000 he had drawn from *Munster*, to finish the Work whereof he had laid an happy Foundation, heartily wishing that his Lordship might be the happy Instrument to save *Ireland*, to whom he professed himself tied in most constant and honest Friendship, and praying his Lordship to esteem these ready Seconds, besides the publick Duty to proceed much out of an extraordinary respect to his Lordship. That for bestowing of the Companies to be sent into *Munster*, as he who was gone, (meaning as I think, the Earle of *Effex*), made too great a Monopoly in bestowing all such Places himself, so now there was a great Confusion, every Lord importuning to prefer his Friend and Follower; but that for his Part, he sought no Man's Preferment herein, but only advised that those might be first respected, which came over with the Lord Deputy's Recommendations. That the Lord President had earnestly moved him, and in good sort challenged to have hopes in him for the Procurement of some Means to gratify his Followers; and had by other Friends obtained of her Majesty, that some of those Companies might be sent over undisposed, and left to his Disposal, to which he the Secretary had given second, rather than that the Places should be bestowed in *England*, without any thanks either to the Lord Deputy or Lord President. Protesting that howsoever he loved the Lord President, he would not scant his due Respect to his Lordship, wherein he thought to give him the least Discontent. That he conceived the *Spaniards* would not make Descent at *Cork*, which Town was not guardable when they had it. Nor yet at *Limrick*, though fit by the Situation, because an Enemy engaged so far into the Kingdom, could not hope for Supplies, when her Majesty should take due Resolution to oppose them. But rather judged *Gallway* a fit Place for their Descent, giving Commodity to
join

join with the Northren Rebels, and seated in a Country all out in Rebellion. Or else *Waterford*, in respect of the goodly River and the People's Affection to *Spain*, advising that the Foot of *Dungannon* should carefully be furnished with a Commander, Men, and Necessaries. Lastly, that *Ostend* was obstinately besieged by the Arch-Duke, with 13000 Foot, and 60 Pieces of Battery; and howsoever the States had left 2000 *Dutch* there, yet their Army being at *Berck*, whence it would not be raised, the Town had been carried within ten Days; if Sir *Francis Vere* had not thrown himself into it with 1600 *English*, to whom her Majesty sent 1000 Men, and prepared to send 2000 more, to succour the Place, because Part of the Army in *Italy* was come down to the Arch-Duke.

The 9th of *August* his Lordship and the Counsellors present in the Camp, writ to the Lords in *England*, That the Army had been employed in preparing her Majesty's Forts, and fitting them for the Winter War, and in the present spoiling of the Rebels Corn, (the only way to ruin them), hoping to keep the Army in Field till Harvest were past; so that it being impossible to cut all their Corn, our Garrisons might have Opportunity to gather the rest, and the Rebels might be hindered from gathering any, except it were *Tyrone's* Corn near *Dungannon*, whereunto the Passage was so difficult, as his Lordship for so little thought not good to hazard all, especially since Sir *Henry Dockwra* for want of Match (as he had written) could not meet his Lordship in *Tyrone*, according to their former Project, whereof his Lordship notwithstanding professed himself nothing sorry, in regard that meeting would have given the Arch-rebel Power to fling the Dice again for Recovery of their Fortune, and that upon an unequal Hazard, by setting his rest upon either of them apart, divided into 3 Bodies, under the Lord Deputy, the said Sir *Henry Dock-*

Dockwra, and Sir *Arthur Chichester*, even with the whole Force of his Northern Partakers, tho' his other Friends further off were kept from aiding him, by the disposal of our other Forces. That besides the spoiling of their Corn, his Lordship by search had found an easy way to pass to *Dungannon*, which hitherto was never by any Guide made known to us, and had cut down a broad Pace, through a thick Wood in 2 Days Labour, and so came to the River, where he purposed, as soon as might be, to build a Fort with a Bridge, there being from thence to *Dungannon* less than 4 Miles, all in a Plain; That this would cut the Arch-traitors Throat: For howsoever the Name of *ó Neal* was so revered in the North, as none could be induced to betray him upon the large Reward set upon his Head, yet when the hope of Assistance from *Spain* should be taken away, they seeing their Corn spoiled, and upon our expected Supplies seeing us enter *Tyrone*, could not but see their apparent Confusion. That howsoever this Summer few of their Cows had been taken (which Work is more proper to the Winter War), yet they had been forced to feed them within their Fastnesses, which they used to keep for feeding them in Winter, so as they must either starve them by keeping them there in Winter, or hazard the taking of them by our Garrisons, if they feed them abroad. That for the future Service, they besought again to be enabled, by the sending of 1000 shot out of *England* for Supplies, and that the rather, because *Tyrone* was very strong, as appeared by a Note delivered by *Shane mac Donnel Groome*, who having been *Tyrone's* Marshal, was received to Mercy the 27th of *July*, besides our Experience of their Strength, when few Days since they poured 3000 Shot into our Camp, and could hardly be kept from forcing it. So as our Army consisting only of 1798 by Pole, and more than half of them being *Irish*, the speedy sending of
the

the Supply was most necessary. As also the sending of Munition and Victuals, without which all this Labour would be lost, and the Soldier forced, not only to leave his Garrison, but to live idly in the Pale upon the Subject. Lastly, that the Army (by God's Grace) had not had any Disaster, but burning their Houses in the very Woods, had still beaten the Rebels, few or no *English* being lost. Together with these Letters were sent divers Notes of Victuals and Munition remaining, and new Stores to be sent over. And therewith was sent the above-mentioned Note of *Tyrone's* Forces, as followeth.

A perfect Note of such Captains and Companies, as are under the Command of the Traitor Tyrone, within Tyrone, not mentioning the Chieftains, as ô Donnel, ô Cane, Mac Gire, and the rest of the Ulster Lords, but only such as attend him in his Country.

Horse. *Tyrone* for his Guard, 100. His Son, *Hugh ô Neal*, 100. His Brother *Cormock*, 100. *Art mac Baron*, 20. *Phelim ô Hanlon's* Son, 10. *Turlogh Brasil's* Sons, 50. *Con, Tyrone's* base Son, 20. In all 400.

His Guard of Foot. Led by *James ô Sheal*, a *Leinster* Man, 200. Led by *Jenkyn Fitz-Simon* of *Lecaile*, 200. In all 400.

Other Foot. *Hugh mac Cawel*, and two other Captains under *Cormock*, *Tyrone's* Brother, 600. *Con*, Son to *Art mac Baron*, 100. *Brian mac Art*, 200. *Con*, *Tyrone's* base Son, 100. *Mac Can*, 100. *Owen ô Can*, 100. *Donough Aferadogh ô Hagan*, 100. *Owen ô Hagan*, 100. *Donnel ô Neal* for *Owen Evalle ô Neal*, 100. Three Brothers, *Gilaspick mac Owen*, 100; *Rory mac Owen*, 100;

Randal mac Owen, 100. *Kedagh mac Donnel*, 100.
Owen ô Quin, 100. *James ô Hagan*, 100. *Phelim*
Oge ô Neal, 60. *Turlogh Brasil's Sons*, 200. *Henry*
Wragton, 200. *Henry Oge mac Henry mac Shane*,
 100. *Turlogh, Con mac Baron's Son*, 100. *Art*
ô Hagan, Son to Hugh, 100. *Hugh Grome ô Hagan*
 and his Cousin, 100. *Donnel Grome mac Edmund*,
 100. *Patrick mac Phelim*, 100. *Gilliduff mac*
Donnel, one of Connaught, 100. In all 3260.
 Total of Horse and Foot, 4060.

All these (300 excepted) had means for themselves and their Companies within *Tyrone*, and divers of them have great Forces besides these, which they keep in their own Countries for Defence thereof.

This present 9th of *August* the Lord Deputy wrote to Sir *Robert Cecil* the Secretary this following Letter.

S I R,

I Received your Letter of the 25th of *July*, the 4th of this Month, being in Camp near the Place where the Marshal *Bagnol* was slain, the News you received from the President of *Munster*, of *Spanish* Succours, I do find no ways more confirmed, than by the assured Confidence this People hath thereof, out of the which they are grown from the most humble begging of their Peace, to exceeding Pride, and the Traitor himself so strong, as (believe me, Sir) he hath many more fighting Men in his Army, than we. And yet we do not omit any thing of our Purposes, but have since our coming to this Camp, made that a fair way to *Blackwater*, which the Marshal shunned, when he was overthrown, and every Day cut down either his Woods or his Corn in his sight, only with some slight Skirmishes, in all which (God be thanked) we cannot say, we had any Disaster hitherto, but in all he loseth

seth some of his best Men. I presume there could nothing be added to our Council of the Distribution of her Majesty's Forces : But whether the Fault hath been in the Commanders of the several Parties, or in some Impediments which they pretend, I know not ; but we receive little Assistance by any of them, and the whole brunt of the War lieth upon us. But out of the present judgment we make of this Country, we have discovered, and directed Sir *Arthur Chichester* of Course, which if we may enable him to go forward in, will, I hope, utterly banish *Tyrone* ; and have found another way into his Country, that if we can but build a Fort, and make a Passage over the River, we shall make *Dungannon* a Center, whether we may from all Parts draw together all her Majesty's Forces, and (as I presume) before this Winters end, not leave a Man in the Country of *Tyrone*. Whatsoever others have undertaken, I beseech you, Sir, to remember, that in all my Dispatches, I have declared, that the uttermost you could look from us in this Summer's Work, should be to plant such Garrisons as must take effect this next Winter, and that we should proceed slowly, and come short of our Purpose, if we were not continually supplied with Means, and in time, of Victuals and all kind of Munitions. If you have not been informed in due time of our Wants, I must excuse myself, that being continually imployed in the active Prosecution of as busy a War as any in the World, and most commonly far from *Dublin*, where our Magazines are, I am driven in all the several kinds of our Means, to appoint of the Council Commissioners, whom I have desired in my Absence to inform you of the State of these things, and to solicit our Wants, having directed the particular Ministers of every Nature, to inform them of the Remains, and to deliver them (to be sent over) Estimates, of what we should want. Only in general I have in

all my Dispatches protested, that without sufficient Supplies of these things, we should be driven to sit still, and make all the rest of her Majesty's Charge unprofitable. Sir, I cannot from a quiet Judgment make you a large and perfect Discourse at this time of our Affairs, for I am continually full of the present Business, and have so little rest, as sometimes these Rogues will keep us waking all Night: But in short, I dare assure you, I see a fair Way, to make *Ulster* one of the most quiet, assured, and profitable Provinces, if the *Spaniard* do not come. If they do, I cannot say what we shall first resolve on, till by the event we see their Purpose; for to provide for all Places, that carry equal Probability of their Undertaking, we cannot, neither can I put myself into any Part of *Ireland* with my chief Strength, but I may happen to be as far from their Descent, as I shall be where now I am, which maketh me the more loth to forego my hold in those Parts, and yet for all Occasions you must not imagine me to be now in the Head of a great Army, but of some 1600 fighting Men, of whom there are not half *English*, and upon the News of *Spanish* Succours, I know few *Irish* that I can reckon ours. With this Army I must make my Retreat, which I resolved to have left most part in Garrisons all this Winter in these Quarters; and in truth, Sir, I cannot at this present think of a better Council, than that we might go on with the War by these Garrisons against *Tyrone*, as we were determined, whether the *Spaniards* come or no, and to make Head against them, chiefly with Means out of *England*. By this Course they shall give each other little Assistance, and if we do but ruin and waste the Traitors this Winter, it will be impossible for the *Spaniards* to make this People live, by which Course I presume it is in her Majesty's Power to give the King of *Spain* a great Blow, and to quit this Country of them for ever. If in the Checks, the
Queen

Queen do not find the Weakness of her Army, I disclaim from the Fault; for without a wise honest Muster-master, of good Reputation, to be still present in the Army, the Queen in that kind will never be well served, and upon those Officers that are, I do continually call for their Care in that Matter. If according to our Desire you had sent us 1000 Supplies of Shot to the *Newry*, it had advanced the Service more than I can express, but some you must needs send us, to be able to leave those Garrisons strong in Winter. Most part of these Troops I have here, are they that have stricken all the Blows for the Recovery of the Kingdom, and being in continual Action, and therefore you must not wonder if they be weak. If Sir *Henry Dockwra* do not plant *Ballyshannon*, I think it fit, that Sir *Arthur Chichester* had 1000 Men of his List, whom I hope we would find Means to plant within 4 or 5 Miles of *Dungannon*, and by Boats victual them commodiously. I do apprehend the Consequence of that Plantation to be great: But till I hear from you again, I will take no Men from *Loughfoyle*, because I am loth to meddle much with that Garrison without Direction: But I beseech you, Sir, by the next let me know your Opinion.

I pray you, Sir, give me leave to take it unkindly of my Lord President to inform you, that Sir *Henry Dockwra* hath had greater Favour in the Nomination of Captains than he; for he never placed but one, whom I displaced after. To have some left to his Nomination, is more than I could obtain, when the last Supply came to me. But since it is the Queen's Pleasure, I must bear this (and as I do continually a great deal more) with Patience. And though I am willing you should know I have a just feeling of these things, yet I beseech you, Sir, to believe, that my meaning is not to contest, or to impute the Fault unto you, for (by God Sir) where I profess my Love in the same Kind I have done to you,

you, they shall be great Matters that shall remove me, although they may (and I desire that I may let you know when they do) move me. I do only impute this to my Misfortune, that I perceive Arguments too many of her Majesty's Displeasure: But while for her own Sake she doth use my Service, I will love whatsoever I suffer for her, and love the Sentence, that I will force from the Conscience of all, and the Mouth of the Just, that I have been, and will be, an honest, and no unprofitable Servant unto her. I dare undertake, we have rid my Lord President of the most dangerous Rebel of *Munster*, and the most likely Man to have renewed the Rebellion; for that Night I received your Letters, the Rogues did pour above 3000 Shot into our Camp, at which time it was our good Fortune to kill *Pierce Lacy*, and some other of their principal Men. We are now praying for a good Wind, for we are at our last Day's Bread, if Victuals come in time, we will not be idle. Sir, if I have recommended any into *England*, I am sure it was for no Charge; for I know none that have gone from hence, but there are many that continue here more worthy of Preferment than they, therefore I pray, Sir, let them not be reckoned mine, that there challenge anything for me, but whatsoever shall please their Lordships I must be contented withal, and it shall not much trouble me, for I mean not to make the Wars my Occupation, and do affect as much to have a great many Followers, as to be troubled with a Kennel of Hounds. But for the Queen's Sake, I would gladly have her served by such, as I know to be honest Men, and unhappy is that General, that must fight with Weapons of other Mens choosing. And so, Sir, being ashamed that I have troubled you so long, I desire you to be assured, that no Man shall
love

love you more honestly and faithfully, than myself.

From the Camp near Mount Norris this 9th of August, 1601.

Yours, Sir, most assured to

do you Service,

Mountjoy.

Touching the above-mentioned Distaste between the Lord Deputy and the Lord President of *Munster*, his Lordship shortly after, wrote a Letter to him, resenting himself in very high Terms, of the Wrong he conceived to be offered him, as followeth in his Lordship's Letter.

MY Lord, as I have hitherto born you as much Affection, and as truly as ever I did profess it unto you, and I protest rejoyced in all your good Successes as mine own ; so must you give me leave, since I presume I have so just Cause, to challenge you of Unkindness and Wrong, in writing into *England*, that in preferring your Followers, *Sir Henry Dockwra* hath had more power from me than your self, and consequently to sollicit the Queen to have the Nomination of some Captains in this Kingdom. For the first I could have wished you would have been better advised, because upon my Honour he never, without my special Warrant, did appoint but one, whom I after displaced ; and I do not remember that ever since our coming over, I have denied any thing, which you have recommended unto me, with the Mark of your own Desire to obtain it, and in your Province I have not given any place (as I think) but at your Instance. For the other I think it is the first Example, that
ever

ever any under another General desired or obtained the like Suit. And although I will not speak injuriously of your Deserts, nor immodestly of mine own, yet this Disgrace cannot make me believe that I have deserved worse than any that have been Generals before me : But since it is the Queen's Pleasure, I must endure it, and you chuse a fit time to obtain that, or any thing else against me. Yet I will concur with you in the Service, as long as it shall please her Majesty to employ us here : But hereafter I doubt not but to give you Satisfaction that I am not worthy of this wrong. The Counsel and myself, upon occasion of extraordinary Consequence, sent for some of the Companies of *Munster* out of *Connaught*, when we heard you were to be supplied with two Thousand out of *England*, but we received from them a flat Denial to come, and the Copy of your Letter to warrant them therein. If you have any Authority from the Queen to countermand mine, you may very well justify it, but it is more than you have vowed to me to have, when I (before my coming over) protested unto you, that if you had, I would rather serve the Queen in Prison, than here. My Lord, these are great Disgraces to me, and so conceived, and I think justly, by all that know it, which is and will be very shortly all *Ireland*. My Allegiance and own Honour are now engaged with all my Burthens, to go on in this Work, otherwise no Fear should make me suffer thus much; and what I do, it is only Love doth move me unto it : For I know you are dear to one, whom I am bound to respect with extraordinary Affection. And so, my Lord, I wish you well, and will omit nothing (while I am in this Kingdom) to give you the best Contentment I can, and continue as,

Your assured Friend,

Mountjoy.
The

The Lord President within few Days, not only with a calm, noble, and wise Answer, pacified his Lordship's Anger; but also by many good Offices between his Lordship and Master Secretary, (with whom as a most inward Friend he had great Power) so combined their new-begun Love, as he engaged his Lordship in a great Bond of Thankfulness to him.

The 11th. of *August*, his Lordship wrote to the Governor of the *Newry*, that to avoid the continual Trouble of Convoys hereafter, he should presently send up as great Provision of Victuals to *Armagh* as possibly he could, while his Lordship lay in that Part with the Army: For two Days after, by reason of much Rain falling, and the expecting of these Victuals, his Lordship lay still in the Camp near *Mount-Norris*. The 13th the Victuals came, but not in such great Proportion as was directed, because the Victualler had failed to bake great Part of his Meal, and the Cows expected from *Dundalk*, were not yet sent by the Submittees, according to their Promise. The same Day his Lordship rose, and incamped three Miles short of *Armagh*. The fourteenth, his Lordship rose with the Army, and put all the Victuals he had received into the Abbey of *Armagh* and the Fort of *Blackwater*, and returned back to the same camping Place. The 15th his Lordship drew back to his former Camp, near *Mount-Norris*, and sent out some Companies of Horse and Foot to the Skirts of the Wood near the Fort, to guard those that cut Wood for making of Cars, to transport more Victuals to the said Garrisons. The 16th his Lordship drew back to *Carickbane*, near the *Newry*, to hasten the Provision of Victuals, in as great Quantity as might be, which was dispatched within few Days.

The

*The 23d his Lordship wrote the following Letter
to Mr. Secretary.*

S I R,

I DID ever foresee, and have signified so much, that any foreign Succours would clean alter the State of this Kingdom, and the whole Frame of our Proceedings, and do find that the Assurance that these People do now receive thereof, doth make them stand upon other Terms than they were wont, and much divert our Purposes, which we had conceived with good Reason and great Hope. Of any but the *English* we have small Assurance, and of them the Army is exceeding weak. The *Irish* newly submitted, and their wavering Faith hitherto we have used to great Effect: For we have wasted them, and the Rebels by them, but when we come to lay our Forces in remote Garrisons, they fly the Hardness of that Life, and do again betake themselves unto any Head that is of Power to spoil, and with the best-paid and prevailing Party they will ever be. I am certainly told by Sir *John Barkly*, that some *Spaniards* that arrived at *Sligo* (as they say to discover, and with Assurance of the present coming of a great Force,) do there fortify, and (as he hath been more particularly informed) not in a Compass only capable of themselves, but in such sort as it will be able to lodge great Numbers. This, (and my being prevented to follow my Purposes in these Parts as I would,) draweth me into the Pale, to advise of the best Assurance for the main, and yet not to quit my Purposes in such sort in these Parts; but if the *Spaniards* do not come, I may again look this Way with my former Desire, which was to beat the chief Traitor clean out of his Country: For
until

until that be done, there will be ever left a Fire, which upon all Occasions will break out more and more violently. When I have spoken with the rest of the Counsel, and considered more nearly the Disposition of these inward Parts, I will more largely relate unto you my Opinion, neither will I now much trouble you with my own Estate, although not only my self, but (I protest) the Service doth feel the Effect of a general conceived Rumour of her Majesty's Displeasure to me. I am so nearly interested therein; that I cannot speak much of that Matter, without the Prejudice of a private Respect to my self: But only this, I most humbly desire her Majesty, for her own Sake, to use me no longer here, than she thinketh me fit to be trusted and graced; for without both, I shall but strive against the Wind and Tide, and be fit for nothing but my own poor Harbour, unto the which I most humbly desire to be speedily called with her gracious Favour, since my own Conscience maketh me presume to desire so much, that best doth know with how intolerable Labour of Mind and Body, I have and do continually serve her. And so, Sir, I beseech God to send you as much Contentment as I do want.

The 23d of August, 1601.

Yours, Sir, to do you Service,

Mountjoy.

The

The fortifying of the *Spaniards* at *Sligo*, vanished with the Rumour, which was grounded upon some arriving, to bring the Rebels certain News of present Succours, and presently returning. And the Brute (or perhaps his Lordship's Jealousy) of her Majesty's Displeasure, arose from the Confessions of some examined, about the rash Attempts of the unfortunate Earl of *Effex*, who had accused the Lord Deputy to be privy to that Project. His Lordship purposing to draw into the Pale (or Parts near *Dublin*,) left his Forces in the North, (for those of *Loughfoyle* had not yet Correspondency with these,) in this following Manner disposed.

At *Carrickfergus*.

Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Governor, 200. Sir *Foulk Conway*, 150. Capt. *Billings*, 150. Capt. *Phillips*, 150. Capt. *Norton*, 100. Capt. *Egerton*, 100. Foot, 850.

Sir *Arthur Chichester*, 25. Capt. *John Jephson*, 100. Horse, 125.

At *Lecaile*.

Sir *Richard Moryson*, Governor, 150. Capt. *Toby Caulfield*, 150. Foot, 300.

These following Forces, when they should be drawn out, for Convoy of Victuals or otherwise, were to be commanded in chief by Sir *Francis Stafford*, and were thus disposed in several Garrisons.

At

At the *Newry*.

Sir *Francis Stafford*, Governor, 200. Capt. *Josias Bodley*, 150. Sir *William Warren*, 100. Foot, 450. Sir *Francis Stafford*, 50 Horse.

At *Mount-Norris*.

Capt. *Edward Blaney*, Governor, 150. Capt. *Atherton*, 150. Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, 150. Capt. *Rotheram*, 150. Foot, 600. Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, 50 Horse.

At *Armagh*.

Sir *Henry Davers*, Governor, 150. Sir *Henry Folliot*, 150. Capt. *Guest*, 150. Capt. *Thomas Roper*, 150. Capt. *Francis Roe*, 100. Capt. *Trever*, 100. Foot, 800.

Sir *Henry Davers*, 100. Capt. *Darcy*, 25. Horse, 125.

At *Blackwater*.

Capt. *Williams*, Governor, 150. Capt. *Constable*, 100. Sir *Garret Moore*, 100. Foot, 350.

The 24th of *August*, his Lordship leaving the Field, rode back to the *Newry*, from whence he sent one *W.* an *English*-man, in Bonds to the Lords in *England*, for the Reasons following. Sir *Henry Davers*, after his elder Brother's perishing in the late Earl of *Essex* his Attempt, was desirous by active Prosecution of the Rebels, to deserve her Majesty's good Opinion. And for this Cause, as for that he was enabled to do great Services, as well by his noble Virtues, as by the Command he formerly and now had both of Horse and Foot;

his Lordship in special love to him, being most willing to give him all Opportunity to attain this his Desire, appointed him Governor of *Armagh*, advising him to be often stirring with the Forces under his Command, and to practise what possibly he could devise upon the Person of the Arch-traitor. To him this *English*-man made Offer to kill *Tyrone*, yet would not discover his Plot for greater Secrecy (as he pretended,) neither would he press him further, since he required no Assistance; and so in the Night he was suffered to go by the Watches, and passed to *Tyrone's* Camp, whence he was imployed to the *Islander Scots*, and coming to Sir *Arthur Chichester's* Hands, was by him sent back from *Knockfergus* to his Lordship at the *Newry*, where being examined what he had done in *Tyrone's* Camp, he avowed that once he had drawn his Sword to kill him, though under Pretence of bragging what he would do for his Service, yet gave he no good Account of his Actions or Purposes, but behaved himself in such sort, as his Lordship judged him frantick, though not the less fit for such a Purpose. Now because he had not performed that he undertook, and gave an ill Account of himself in this Action; his Lordship, as well for the Discharge of Sir *Henry Davers*, who imployed him, as of himself, who consented thereunto, and advised Sir *Henry Davers* so to do, thought good to send him Prisoner to the Lords, that he might be there examined, where, by reason of his Friends dwelling in *London*, they might be sufficiently informed of the Man's Quality.

The 25th his Lordship and the Council there present, wrote from the Newry this following Letter to the Lords in England.

It may please your Lordships.

SINCE our last Letters we have for the most Part imployed our selves in putting up as great Quantity

Quantity of Victuals as we could to *Armagh* and the *Blackwater*, being loth to ingage our selves into any thing, which we had further purposed, until we should see the Issue of this assured Expectation of the *Spaniards* Invasion, or till we might by some Means better strengthen this Army. Of the first we have reason to be jealous, both by many Arguments of assured Confidence in this People of present Succour, and by the Arrival of a *Spanish* Ship, in which the Arch-traitor's Agent is returned, with Assurance that he left the *Spanish* Forces ordained for his Aid in a Readiness to set out. For the strengthening of our Army we had good Reason to be provident, considering the Weakness thereof, and especially of the *English*, and finding by Experience the Rebels Strength now, when he had none but the Forces nourished in *Tyrone* to assist him. Wherefore hearing that Sir *Henry Dockwra* had planted a Garrison at *Dunnegal*, and had left *ó Donnel* possessed in a manner of nothing in *Tirconnel*, and that upon the late Arrival of his Munition, he intended to be active in those Parts near *Loughfoyle*, and understanding by Master Secretary, that about the 12th of *August* there were 2000 Men to be supplied for *Munster*, we resolved to send for some of the Companies in *Connaught* of the *Munster* List, and to put the rest into *Galway* and thereabouts, for the Assurance of those Parts, and upon the receiving of that Addition to our Strength, to have drawn to *Monaghan*, and spoiled the Corn of that Country, being of exceeding Quantity, or if we had seen reason, to have left a Garrison there, and to have inabled it to gather the most Part of that Corn for their better Provision, or otherwise to have continued the Prosecution in these Parts, until we should hear of the *Spaniards* landing, or by any Assurance of their not coming, should be at Liberty to proceed in our former Purposes. But

receiving Answer from the Captains of *Munster*, that they had Direction not to stir from *Connaught* upon any other Order whatsoever, than from the President of *Munster*, in regard of the present Expectation of *Spaniards* to land in those Parts: And we thereby being not so well able to wade any further in our Determinations for the North, and receiving some probable Intelligence, that the Place designed for the *Spaniards* landing was *Sligo*, we resolved to leave the Northern Garrisons very strong in Foot and Horse, and as well provided with Means as we can, and to draw our selves with the rest of our Force towards *Connaught*, appointing the rest of the Council to meet us in the Way at *Trim*, to advise with us of the best Course to establish the Heart of the Pale, and to answer the present Expectation of *Spanish* Forces. And although by our sudden leaving the North, we have omitted some things which we conceived to be of great Consequence to the Service, yet if it shall please your Lordships to supply the Foundations we have laid in those Parts with 1000 Shot, according to our former Suit, and with Store of Victuals for the Garrisons in Winter, we hope you shall find no small Effect of our Summer's Labour. But seeing we are persuaded, that if any *Spanish* Forces arrive, they will land at *Sligo*, where they have a fit Place to fortify, to be relieved by Sea, to unite themselves with all the Rebels Force, and where they have a fair Country to possess, with an easy Way (by the Rebels Assistance) into *Munster*, or the Heart of the Pale, or especially to *Loughfoyle*, where we cannot, without great Difficulty, affront them, having no Magazines of Victuals or Munition at *Athlone* or *Galway*, and where it is impossible for us to provide our selves, or if we could, most difficult to carry them by Land, when we are so far in the Country, and have no Means for Carriage.

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Therefore we most humbly desire your Lordships to send good Store of Victuals and Munition to *Galway*, and to *Limrick*, which howsoever our Expectation fall out, will be most necessary for the Prosecution of *Connaught*, and that Prosecution as necessary this Winter, since *ó Donnel* hath forsaken his own Country, and betaken himself to live in that Province. But because we do foresee it to be no ill Counsel for the *Spaniards* to land at *Sligo*, and think that *Tyrone* will presently urge them to cut off our Garrison at *Loughfoyle*, whither from thence they have a fair Way, and secure from our Opposition, and may imagine, that it will be no great Difficulty for them with such royal Provisions as they will bring, to force those slender Fortifications. We beseech your Lordships to send a large Provision of Victuals and Munition to *Carlingford* and *Knockfergus*; for we cannot by any other Way than that relieve *Loughfoyle* if it be distressed. Neither can her Majesty hazard any Loss in these great Provisions, though we never use them; for all Kind of Victuals may be issued in this Kingdom with great Gain, and especially Corn, which we chiefly desire; and for Munition, it may be kept with Providence as a Store for all Occasions. Thus howsoever it fall out, we shall be inabled to make such a Prosecution this Winter in *Connaught* and the North, as in all reason will end these Wars, if the *Spaniards* come not, and will leave this Province of *Ulster* in far greater Subjection, than ever any of her Majesty's Progenitors had it. And since we apprehend, that *Spain* may make in this Country a dangerous War for *England*, we conceive that if not now, yet with his first Ability, he will embrace it, which makes us to have the greater Desire (if it be possible) to prevent his footing here for ever, and that (by God's Help) we hope to do before this next Summer, if we may be enabled this Winter to ruin *Tyrone* and *ó Donnel*. We

have great need of 100 Northern Horses, for our Horses here grow weak, and ill, and if your Lordships please to afford us that Number, we will so handle the Matter, as it shall be no Increase of the List. If the *Spaniards* come, we must have at the least 300, and if they be Northern Horses, and Northern Riders, we assure our selves they will be much fitter for this Service, than such as are usually sent hither, who come with Purpose to get Licence to return, and yet are a greater Charge to her Majesty. But for the 1000 Foot we desired by our former Letters, we find their coming to be of that Necessity, as we must be most humble and earnest Suitors to your Lordships to send them presently: For our Companies are so exceeding weak, and now decay so fast, by the Extremity of the Weather, as a much greater Number will not supply us, but that the Checks will be as great as now they are, and they little be seen amongst us, which gives us Cause to wish now, and humbly to move your Lordships, to be pleased to send 1000 Foot more soon after. The Reports here are so uncertain, as until we meet the rest of the Council at *Trim*, we know not how the Pale stands affected, upon this assured Confidence of the *Spaniards* coming, only this we perceive, many of them are wavering, yet the Lords hereabouts, namely, *Mac Gennis*, *Turlogh Mac Henry*, *Ever Mac Cooley*, and *ô Hanlon*, keep with us, notwithstanding that *Tyrone* hath sent them Word, that hereafter it will be too late for them to make their Peace with him, if they do it not now upon this Occasion, and they assure us, as much as Men can do, that they will not fall again from their Obedience, though thereby their State be no better than Horseboys. But of this we can give your Lordships no Assurance, neither in them have we any extraordinary Confidence. It may further please your Lordships to be advertised, that the Lord of *Dunfany*, having
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the Command of a Fort in the *Brenny*, called *Liscanon* (where we had placed certain *Irish* Companies, as fittest to spoil and waste the Country thereabouts,) did lately draw most of them into *Mac Mahown's* Country, for the taking of a Prey, which they lighted on, (as is said) to the Number of some 1600 Cows: But in their Return, being hardly laid unto, (as some of them say, with very great Numbers, yet as we have heard by some that were present, not above 140,) they did not only lose their Prey, but according to the Manner of the *Irish* (who have no other Kind of Retreat) fell to a flat running away to the Fort, so as poor Capt. *Esmond* (who had the Command of the Rear, and very valiantly with a few made good the Place) was sore hurt, and afterwards taken Prisoner, and 40 or 50 of our Side slain. We cannot learn that any *English* were among them, so as we account our Loss to be no more than the taking of the Captain, neither do the Rebels brag thereof, both because they scaped not free, losing very near as many Men as we did; and for that they knew they dealt but with their Countrymen, who (as they do) hold it no shame to run, when they like not to fight, though we mean to call some of ours to account thereof. And so we most humbly take leave.

The 28th of *August*, his Lordship received two Letters from the Lord President of *Munster*; the first imported, that hearing that his Lordship had sent into *Connaught* for Part of the Companies of the *Munster* List to come into the North, he prayed to be excused, that he had given contrary Directions, upon fear of the *Spaniards* landing, and the Knowledge of *Tyrrel's* Purpose to come with the banished *Munstermen*, and Aids of Northern Men out of *Connaught*, presently to disturb the Province of *Munster*, and signified, that now to manifest his precise Obedience to his Lordship's Commands, he

had sent them Directions to march towards his Lordship upon sight of his Letter, yet praying his Lordship to send some Part of them into *Munster*, without which help he could never keep the Field against *Tyrrel* and the provincial Fugitives at their first Entry, nor upon the *Spaniards* Arrival, give any Impediment to their disposing of such Towns, as were recommended to his special Care, and assuring his Lordship that the *Spaniards* had been seen at Sea, and that in his Judgment and by vulgar report, it was likely they would make Descent in some part of *Munster*. Lastly, advertizing that he had sent *James* the Suggon, pretended Earl of *Desmond*, and *Florence mac Carty* the chief Practiser with the *Spaniards* in those Parts) into *England*. The 2d. Letter imported the Lord President's Recommendation (which by established Course was effectual) to his Lordship, for the granting of her Majesty's Pardon for Lands, Lives and Goods, to 542 Inhabitants of *Muskerry*, and other Parts in the County of *Cork*, for which present Warrant was accordingly given.

The 29th Day his Lordship came to *Trim*, where the Counsellors coming from *Dublin* met him; according to Appointment. Here they consulted of the publick Affairs, more particularly how that Part of the Army within *Leinster*, might be employed to prosecute *Tyrrel*, sent by *Tyrone* to disturb that Province, and yet to be ready upon any sudden Occasion to make Head against the foreign Enemy. And the Advertisements being daily multiplied, that the *Spaniards* were at Sea, it was concluded, that in regard these Forces were not able to answer both, or either the Ends aforesaid, great Part of the Army in *Ulster* should be drawn down, and both Forces joined, should assail *Tyrrel*, who came to insult over the Subjects, and to draw them to Rebellion, but especially the late Submitties, whom by many Promises and Threat-

Threatnings he had tempted to a Relapse, but prevailed not with them. And his Lordship resolved, by his Presence to give a sharper Edge to this Service, till either he should be called, to affront the *Spaniards* Landing, or to draw back into the North, if they landed not.

The 3d. of *September* his Lordship and the Council here wrote unto the Lords in *England*, excusing that the extraordinary Expences had far passed the limited Sum of 6000 *l.* Yearly, which was far too little, for the Transportation of Victuals, Carriage of Munition, Charges and Imprests to Victuallers, Rewards to Messengers, and for special Services, making of Boats, and things of like Necessity, and the repairing of Castles, Houses, Bridges, Forts, and all Buildings. In which last Charge, they had not been able fitly to repair *Athlone* Castle, the Key of *Connaught*, nor the Castles and Bridges of *Catherlough* and *Laughlin*, and the Forts of *Philipstown* and *Maryburgh*, being of great Consequence to curb the Traitors, and assure the Subjects, and the Decay whereof would give the Rebels free Passage into many Countries, besides our Dishonour to neglect those Places, which the Wisdom of former times with great Policy planted; the great Charge of repairing whereof, appeared by the transmitted Certificates of Commissioners appointed to view these Places. And for these Reasons they besought her Majesty's Warrant, to leave this Charge to their Discretion for a Time, without any Limitation, promising not to enlarge the same in any thing, which might be spared, without apparent Prejudice to her Service, and giving their Opinion, that in this Time of the new Coin, these Places might be repaired with small Charge. Likewise they desired to have great Store of Munition and Victuals sent over, and
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that presently, to prevent the usual Contrariety of Winds after *Michaelmas*, and all the Winter Season. Lastly, they desired to have the 1000 Shot presently sent over, for which they had formerly written; the Army consisting in great Part of *Irish*, which could not be kept to live in Garrison our of their own Country. And they advertised the Lords, that divers of the Horse at twelve Pence *per diem* had quit their Pay, being not able to live thereupon in those dear times.

The 3d. of *September* likewise his Lordship received Letters from her Majesty, giving Warrant for the Pay of 2000 Men sent into *Munster*, being above the Establishment. The same Day his Lordship received Letters from Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary, that the *Spaniards* were discovered near the *Silly*, and as he thought they would land at *Limrick*, being 45 Sail, whereof 17 were Men of War, whereof six were Gallions, the rest of 100, or 150 Tuns Burthen, and had in them 6000 Soldiers, praying his Lordship to demand such Supplies as he thought needful, and upon the *Spaniards* landing, to name the Places whether the Supplies should be sent, and assuring his Lordship that the 2000 Men for *Munster* were already embarked.

The same time his Lordship received Letters from the Lords in *England*, importing her Majesty's Acceptance of his Service, with her Willingness and theirs to send him needful Supplies, praying him to demand them timely, because he could hardly receive them from *England* in six Weeks after the Demand, the Wind standing favourable. Likewise professing that it is the Fault of the Commissioners and Commissaries for Victuals, if there be any want thereof, since the Proportions required by them were arrived in *Ireland*; as likewise that the Soldier made not some part of Provision for Victuals by Money (especially

cially in Parts near the Sea, and like Places, where Victuals were to be bought), since by these great Provisions of Victuals in *England* with Sterling Money, her Majesty lost the third Part of the Profit she hoped to make by the new Standard of *Ireland*, and which might be made, if Victuals were provided by the Soldier in *Ireland*, having full Pay in that mixed Money. Also advertising, that her Majesty had sent for *Ireland* 20 Lasts of Powder, with all Munitions in Proportion necessary, half by Land, and (for sparing of Carriage) half by Sea, praying that Care might be had in issuing thereof, since they were informed, that great waste thereof had been formerly made, by the *Irish* Bands, converting the Powder to their private Gain, and by the whole Army, under Pretence of her Majesty's Remittal of Powder spent in service (which had been defaulted out of the Soldiers Pay, but was after held an hard Course, to punish them for their good Deserts), now charging upon her Majesty all wilful and fraudulent Consumptions of Powder. Further signifying, that Sir *Henry Dockwra* his failing in correspondency with his Lordship this Summer, for want of Match, was distasteful to them, had he not made amends by surprising of *Donnegal*, which would facilitate the planting of *Ballisbannon*. That her Majesty referred the Garrison of *Loughfoyle* wholly to his Lordship's Direction, and the transposing any part thereof to the enabling of Sir *Arthur Chichester* at *Knockfergus*, the charge of that Garrison being exceeding burthensome to her Majesty, by reason that Coast in Winter is so subject to Storms, and for that it was supplied with all Provisions out of *England* bought with Sterling Money, and small Quantity of the *Irish* mixed Money could be there issued to any such Purpose, in which Regard her Majesty wished that the *Irish*

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in those Parts (in whose Service no Profit was found) should either be cast, and Pensions of mixed Money given to the chief Lords, or at least should receive no Victuals out of the Store, but have their full Pay in that Standard, to provide therewith for their Companies. Touching the expected landing of the *Spaniards*, their Lordships being of Opinion that they would presently land in *Munster*, advertised his Lordship, that 2000 Men were imbarked for that Province, and 2000 more should be ready within 20 Days at the Sea-side, to come where his Lordship should direct them. Touching the exception above-mentioned which his Lordship had taken, that Part of the Officers for the Companies sent into *Munster* were left to the Lord President's Disposal, and all the rest were bestowed in *England*, their Lordships professed, that as in all Circumstances of Honour and Contentment, they desired to respect his Lordship, so they prayed him to consider, that it stood with the Reputation of a Council of State, to confer some such Employments, and keep Men of Quality at Court, to be upon all Occasions used in her Majesty's Service, wherein notwithstanding they had preferred few or none, who had not his Lordship's Letters of Recommendations to that Board, and now referred them all to be continued or called at his Pleasure. Lastly, whereas their Lordships were informed, that some were apprehended in *Ireland* for coining of the new mixed Money, they signified her Majesty's Pleasure, that those Men should be executed, the rather to prevent the great Inconvenience might arise, in maintaining the exchange for such counterfeit Money, and otherwise.

The 4th of September his Lordship wrote from Trim to Sir Robert Cecil the following Letter.

S I R,

AT my coming into these Parts, I found them not so distempered as I was born in Hand I should, so as I make no doubt at all, but if the *Spaniards* do not come, I shall be able to give her Majesty a good Account of my Charge here; and I am not out of hope, but rather of Opinion, since they have stayed so long, that they will not come this Winter, though I desire not to lead you into that Conceit, nor omit not myself to provide for the worst may happen: And therefore have sent Master Marshal towards *Leax*, with almost 1000 Foot and some Horse, both to be near the Lord President of *Munster*, for what may fall out that way, and to prosecute *Tyrrel* in the mean while, who with some 200 Rogues is gotten thither, and with the remain of the *Moores*, *Connors*, and their Followers, whom I could not cut off the last Year, are all together drawn to be above 400. For *Connaught*, I have appointed Sir *Oliver Lambert*, with as many Companies as I can spare him, until I may understand her Majesty's further Pleasure, because I know him to be very active, and find a necessity to employ some Forces that way, so long as the Brute of the *Spaniards* coming doth continue; especially now, that *ô Donnel* doth make his Residence in that Province about *Sligo*, and might otherwise do what he list without Impeachment. For my self, I think it fittest to stay hereabouts awhile, for from hence I may aptly draw towards *Munster* or *Connaught* as need requires, or fall back towards the North, so soon as we can gather any certainty of the *Spaniards* not coming. And if we may be supplied with

with the 1000 Shot, so earnestly desired by our former Letters, (and without which, our Foundation will be in a manner overthrown), to strengthen the *English* Companies here, (I assure you) grown exceeding weak, (otherwise I would not put her Majesty to that Charge); I make no doubt but we shall be able to do her Majesty that Service there this Winter, (those shot being landed at *Carlingford* or the *Newry*, with the Victuals, Munition, and other means desired), that the *Spaniards* shall not from thenceforth be able to get footing, to do us any great Annoyance, especially if it would please you to procure for an Addition to the rest 200 shot to be sent for the supplying of Sir *Arthur Chichester* at *Carrickfergus*: For from that Place we have discovered such an Entrance into the Heart of *Tyrone*, as in all Likelihood will soon ruin that Arch-traitor, if Sir *Arthur* may be enabled with Means, as from me he shall not want what I can yield him. I have here inclosed sent a Note, that you may see how the Garrisons are planted North-wards, and who it is that commands in each of them, in the absence only of Sir *Francis Stafford*, for he hath the chief Command over them, as the best mean to makethem join upon all Occasions of the Service.

The 9th. of *September* his Lordship received Advertisement from the Lord President, that the 2000 Men embarked in *England* for *Munster*, were arrived, Part in *Cork* Harbour, Part at *Waterford*, of which Companies some were left by the Lords of her Majesty's Council, in their Directions, to his Disposal, but he left them to his Lordship's Pleasure, knowing the Duty he ought to his General. And whereas the Lords of the Council, in the same Letters gave Directions that the Foot Companies of the Lord President and Earl of *Thomond*, being each 150, should be increased each

each to 200, the Lord President avowed that it was obtained by the said Earl, joining him for Countenance of the Suit, altogether without his Privy, which he prayed his Lordship to believe: For since his Lordship had promised that Favour to him upon the first Occasion, he protested that he never had any Thought to make so needless a Request in *England*. Therewith he sent his Lordship the List of the said Companies newly arrived, being 1400 under 14 Captains named in *England*, 100 for the Increase of the Lord President's and Earl of *Thomond's* Foot Companies, and 500 which he the Lord President, by Virtue of the Lords Letters, (the Lord Deputy pleasing to give his Admission) assigned to 5 Captains, being in all 2000 Foot.

His Lordship having disposed the Forces as is above-mentioned, and written from *Tyrone* to the Lord President, desiring him to meet him upon the Borders of *Leinster*, meaning *Kilkenny*, as the fittest Place for that Meeting, took his Journey thitherward, and arriving at *Kilkenny* the 13th. of *September*, the same Night received Advertisement from the Lord President, that the *Spaniards* were met at Sea, bearing for *Ireland*, and therein (as he was informed) for *Munster*, so that he craved Pardon that he came not to meet his Lordship, whose Pleasure he conceived to be, that in this case he should not be absent from those Parts, where the Enemies Descent was expected; and he further prayed his Lordship so to fashion his Affairs in *Leinster* and the *North*, as the Forces he meant to bring might be in readiness; withal protesting, that he stayed only for a second Direction, which if he received, he would come without Delay to his Lordship.

The next Day his Lordship wrote the following Letter to Sir Robert Cecil, her Majesty's Secretary.

S I R,
HA V I N G left the Northern Borders as well guarded, as in Providence I could, the Command whereof I left to Sir *John Barkeley*, and having sent Sir *Oliver Lambert* into *Connaught* to settle those Parts, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, the Marshal, into *Leax* to prosecute *Tyrrel* with his Adherence, I wrote to the President of *Munster* to meet me about *Kilkenny*, if he conveniently might, with a Desire to establish a full Correspondency for the Resistance of foreign Forces, if they should arrive, or otherwise for making the Wars in all Parts this Winter, the rather, because I know not how (for the present) *Gallway*, and consequently *Asheraw* (if it be planted), might be supplied of Munition and some other Provisions, but out of, and by *Munster*; and further, my being in those Parts seeming to me of no small Purpose, to divide the *Birns* and *Cavenaghs* from holding Intelligence or joining with *Tyrrel*, and to nourish the Overture I have lately entertained from O. M. S. the chief of the *Moors*, to bring me *Tyrrel* alive or dead, which he desires should pass as a Secret between only me, himself, and *ô Moloy*, to whom he hath already given a Pledge to perform it. Now that I might not disfigure any of the Forces I am come to *Kilkenny* only accompanied with some 60 Horse, without any one Commander or Captain of the Army, having left them all with Commandment to be resident on their Charge; only when I came near Master Marshal, I sent to confer with him, being before accompanied with none of the Council but only Sir *Robert Gardiner*, chief Justice. As I entered into *Kilkenny* I received Intelligence from the Lord President of the *Spaniards* being at Sea,

Sea, and returned his Messenger, desiring him not to stir from his Charge, but to advertise me often of Occurrents; myself purpose to return presently to *Catherlogh* (whether under the Colour to prosecute *Tyrrel*, I will draw as many of the Forces as I can to employ them in the mean time, and to be ready to answer such Occasions as shall fall out in *Munster*) that being (as things stand) the Place best to give Direction to all Parts, and to assure the most dangerous. Now, Sir, what I should desire or advise from hence, on so great a sudden, as I think it fit to make this Dispatch, and in so great a Matter, I am not very confident, but propound to your much better Judgment what I think first and fittest to be thought of; that it may please the Lords to send over the 2000 Men, by their last Letters signified to me to be at *Chester*, with all Expedition, 1000 of them to *Carlingford*, the other to *Dublin*; these I intend to thrust into other Companies, to make them full (if I can) to a man, whereby the Queen shall be served with all their Bodies, and yet her List no Way increased, nor other Charge but Transportation. I desire so many, at the least, may be sent to *Carlingford*, because I am confident that it is the best Council, whether the *Spaniards* land or no, to strengthen that Part of the Army which will be able to assure the Pale that Way, and to ruin the Northern Rebels, in such Sort, that it shall not be in the Power of foreign Force to make them live, and if the worst happen, they be thereby enabled to come off to us, if we send for them, where now they cannot except we fetch them. In general; For such a War you must send great Magazines of Munition and Victuals, and when you resolve how many Men you will send, or have sent, the Proportion will be easily cast up by such Ministers as you have there in those Kinds. The best Place for the greatest Quantity will be *Dublin*, for from

thence we may find Means to transport what other Places shall have need of, except the War be in *Connaught*, for then only from *Limrick* and *Galway* all our Provisions must come, and in *Connaught* I chiefly expect the *Spaniards* first Descent, yet there with most Difficulty can front them with any War before *Gallway*, or *Athlone* (from *Limrick*) be thoroughly supplied with Provisions: If foreign Force do not arrive, these Provisions will not be lost; for this Winter *ô Donnel* must be forced out of *Connaught*, or else he will get there what he hath lost in *Tyrconnel*, and so this Winter we must do our Endeavour to do the like in *Ulster* to ruin *Tyrone*, which is a Work of no small Difficulty, but of so great Consequence, that I am persuaded it would not only turn the Professions of this People, but even their Hearts, to her Majesty's Obedience; for such as love *Tyrone* will quit their Affections when the Hope of his Fortune fails, and such as do not, their Dependency on him will fall when their Fear of his Greatness shall be taken away; for believe me, Sir, I observe in most (if I be not much deceived) of the *Irish* reclaimed Lords, great Desire to continue Subjects, if they might once see appearance of defence, though, perchance, not so much out of their honest Dispositions as the Smart they yet feel of a bitter Prosecution. If you hear that foreign Powers in any great Numbers are arrived, you must resolve to send at the least 200 Horse out of *England*, and 2000 Men more well armed, for you must believe, Sir, that then it will not be the War of *Ireland*, but the War of *England* made in *Ireland*. If we beat them both Kingdoms will be quiet, if not, even the best in more Danger than I hope ever to live to see. If you provide us more Men when we send you Word that the *Spaniards* are landed, we will write whether we desire they should be sent; howsoever, I presume her Majesty shall not repent

pent the putting over so many Men hither, for we hope to ease the Charge in the shortness of the Work : If this Aid arrive not here, and if any foreign Force arrive in *England*, (the which we gather by some Intelligence may be), then if you send hither new Men to assure Places fit to be kept, we may bring you over old Soldiers and Captains, 2 or 3000, which I will undertake shall strike as good Blows as 10000 ordinary Men. I have made some of the Subjects lately reclaimed, and in these times suspected, put themselves in Blood already since my coming hither ; for even now I hear my Lord *Mountgarret's* Sons have killed some of the *Clancheeres* and some of *Tyrrel's* Followers, since I contested with their Father about somewhat I had heard suspicious of them. Sir, I will again advertise you of our Affairs here very shortly, and desire you now to pardon my Haste.

From Kilkenny
this 14th of
Sept. 1601.

Your most assured Friend,
to do You Service,

Mountjoy.

His Lordship returned from *Kilkenny* to *Catherlogh*, where he disposed the Forces to answer the Service in those Parts of *Leinster* ; thence he wrote to the Lord President to meet him some time at *Kilkenny*, if possibly he could ; and within few Days hearing that the Lord President, having left Sir *Charles Wilmot* with the Forces at *Cork*, was on his Journey towards him, his Lordship parted from *Catherlogh*, and the nineteenth of *September* met him at *Laughlin*, whence they rode together to *Kilkenny*.

Munster. Before I proceed further, I will briefly add the Affairs of *Munster* till this time, collected out of the Lord President's Letters. The settling of Peace in the Year 1600 was interrupted by the Allarum of a *Spanish* Invasion generally given in the Beginning of this Year 1601 : And in the Month of *April*, the *Munster* Rebels, which fled the last Year into *Connaught* and *Ulster*, attempted again to return into *Munster* having been strengthened by *Tyrone* ; but the Lord President sent Capt. *Flower* with 1000 Foot to the Confines, and these Forces of *Munster* on the one Side, and Sir *John Barkely* with the *Connaught* Forces on the other Side, so pursued them, as the same Month they were forced to break and return into *Ulster* : *Florence Mac Carty*, notwithstanding his Protection, had procured the sending of the said Rebels out of the North, and besides many rebellious Practices, about this Time laded a Bark with Hides which should bring him Munition from foreign Parts. The Lord President ceased not to lay continual Plots to apprehend the titular Earl of *Desmond*, and having often driven him out of his lurking Dens, (in which Service the Lord *Barry*, having a Company in her Majesty's Pay, did noble Endeavours,) at last the Lord President understanding that he lurked in the white Knight's Country, his Lordship did so exasperate him with Fear of his own Danger, as in the Month of *May* he took him Prisoner and brought him to *Cork*, where he was condemned for Treason, to intitle the Queen in his Lands, and for a time kept Prisoner there.

In the Month of June the Lord President received this gracious Letter from the Queen, written with her own Hand.

My faithful George,

IF ever more Service of Worth were performed in shorter Space than you have done, we are deceived among many Eye-witnesses: We have received the Fruit thereof, and bid you faithfully credit that what so Wit, Courage, or Care may do, we truly find they have all been thoroughly acted in all your Charge; and for the same believe, that it shall neither be unremembred nor unrewarded; and in the mean while believe, my Help nor Prayers shall never fail you.

Your Sovereign

that best regards you,

E. R.

In the Beginning of *July* the Lord President advertised the Lord Deputy, that according to his Directions he would presently send into *Connaught* 1000 Foot and 50 Horse of the *Munster* List, though upon good and fresh Intelligences, the Arrival of *Spaniards* was daily expected in that Province, and the Forces remaining with him, were not sufficient to guard *Kinsale, Waterford, Youghal, Killmalloch, Limrick, and Cork*, (the last whereof, according to his Lordship's Directions, he would have Care specially to strengthen): that he had given the chief Leader of the said Forces, *Sir Francis Barkely*, Direction to return to him upon his Letter, if her Majesty's Service in his Opinion should require it, praying the Lord Deputy to allow of this Direction, since he meant not to re-

cal them but upon sudden Revolt of the Provincials, or Arrival of *Spaniards*: that the Prisoner, usurping the Title of Earl of *Desmond*, and many other Evidences made manifest, that the Rebels of *Ulster*, and especially the *Spaniards*, did most rely upon the Help of the said Prisoner and *Florence Mac Carty*, which *Florence*, though protected, had assured them of his best Aid, and had prevailed in a Council, held in *Ulster*, that the *Spaniards* should land at or near *Cork*; and that hereupon he the Lord President had apprehended *Florence*, and sent him, together with the said Earl, Prisoner into *England*, where they were safe in the Tower, which being in time known to the *Spaniards*, might perhaps divert their Invasion of *Ireland*. And no doubt the laying Hand on these two Arch-rebels much advanced her Majesty's Service in the following Invasion, whereby the Lord President deservedly won great Reputation. Thus much I have briefly noted to the time above-mentioned, when the Lord Deputy wrote to the Lord President to meet him on the Confines of *Munster*.

The Landing of the *Spaniards*. They meeting (as I said) at *Laughlin*, rode together to *Kilkenny*, where the 20th Day of *September* they sat in Council with the Earl of *Ormond* and the rest of the Council, with Purpose, so soon as they had resolved of the meetest Course for the present Service, to return to their several Places of Charge. But the same Day News came by Post, (for Posts were newly established for the same purpose) that a *Spanish* Fleet was discovered near the old Head of *Kinsale*, whereupon they determined to stay there all the next Day, to have more certain advertisement thereof. The 23d Day another Post came from Sir *Charles Wilmot*, advertising the *Spanish* Fleet to be come into the Harbour of *Kinsale*, and it was agreed in Council that the

the Lord President should return to *Cork*, and the Lord Deputy, for countenancing of the Service in *Munster*, should draw to *Clommel* and gather such Forces as he could presently draw to *Kinsale*, nothing doubting but that this Forwardness (howsoever otherwise the Army, neither for Numbers of Men, nor Sufficiency of Provision, was fit to undertake such a Task) would both cover their many Defects from being spy'd by the Country, and for a while, at the least stop the Current of that general Defection of the *Irish*, which was vehemently feared: This was resolved in Council after the Lord President had given them Comfort to find Victuals and Munition at *Cork*; for at first they were not so much troubled to draw the Forces thither, as suddenly to bring Victuals and Munition thither for them. But when they understood that his Lordship had fed the Soldiers all Summer by Cefs, and preserved her Majesty's Store of Victuals which they thought to be wasted, they were exceeding joyful of this News, and not without just Desert, highly commended the Lord President's provident Wisdom in the said most important Service to the State.

The same Day they wrote these Letters to the Lords in England.

It may please your Lordships,
THE *Spanish* Fleet, so long expected by the Rebels here, is now in the Harbour of *Kinsale* or *Cork*, as it may appear unto your Lordships for a Certainty by the Copies of these inclosed Letters from Sir *Charles Wilmot* and the Mayor of *Cork* which is as much News as we have yet received, so as we cannot judge whether this be the whole Fleet set out of *Spain*, or whether Part thereof is coming after to them, or bound for any other Harbour, only we have some Reason to think

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(the Weather falling out of late exceeding stormy and tempestuous) that all the Ships could very hardly keep together, and the Report was, the whole Number were at least 70. We are now to be earnest Suitors to your Lordships, to supply us with all things needful for so weighty an Action, and so speedily as possibly it may be. The two thousand Foot, already (as we conceive) at *Chester*, we now desire may presently be sent to *Waterford* (and neither to *Carlingford* nor *Dublin*, as I, the Deputy, thought fittest in my last Dispatch, when I meant to have used them in the North), two thousand more at the least had need come soon after unto *Cork*, if it be not invested before their coming, but if it be, their landing must then be at *Waterford* or *Youghal*, and with them 300 Horse will be as few, as we conceive, we have reason to demand, and therefore expect both the one and the other so soon as may be; also, Munition and Victual must be sent for ten thousand Men, to come likewise to *Waterford* (unless your Lordships hear from us to the contrary), for if in those two Kinds we be not royally supply'd, Men and Money will serve us to little Purpose, with all which we recommend to your Lordship's Consideration whether it were not fit to send some Part of her Majesty's Navy to lie upon this Coast, as well to assure the Passage by Sea, as to attempt something upon the *Spanish* Shipping. Thus having briefly set down our Requests as sparingly as we may do, the Danger considered, we think it not impertinent to acquaint your Lordships with the Cause of our Meeting here and Purposes. We thought fit upon the Expectation of these foreign Forces, before we held it of any Certainty, to confer with the Lord President of *Munster*, and to consult upon the general Disposal of the Forces of this Kingdom how to make the War upon their Arrival, which we could hardly do without being thoroughly

ly informed by him of the State of that Province, and what Means of Victual, Munition, and other Provisions we should find there, if we should draw the Army thither, or from thence were driven to make the War in *Connaught*, where we found it would be of exceeding great Difficulty, unless we might have good Helps out of *Munster*. For this Purpose meeting at this Place upon *Monday* this 21st of this present, the next Day while we were in Consultation came the first of these Letters from the Mayor of *Cork*, assuring us of the Discovery of the Fleet near the old Head of *Kinsale*, but whether Friends or Enemies he then knew not, but that being made certain by the rest of the Letters that came since, we presently grew to this Resolution, that the President should return with all Speed possible, though before he left the Province he took Order to the uttermost that could be done in Providence, as well to settle the same, as to defend all Places likeliest to be invaded; and we concluded, that I, the Deputy, should draw forward as far as *Glommel* to be near the chiefest Brunt of the War, and upon the present Apprehension of all things there, to give Directions to the rest of the Kingdom, and yet to omit no Occasions against the Invasion, whilst the Marshal drew up as many of the Forces to me, as he can with best Conveniency and Expedition: For since the 2000, supposed to be at *Chester*, came not to *Carlingford* and *Dublin* in time to supply the Companies Northward, that they might have gone on with their Prosecution, we have now resolved to leave no more in those Parts than are sufficient to keep the Garrison-places, because we hold it to be to no purpose until her Majesty send hither greater Forces, though we are still of Opinion it were the best Course to proceed there, if her Majesty would be pleased to enable us, for otherwise it cannot be looked for but that we shall go backward

ward greatly in this Business. Thus being confident your Lordships will be careful of us, we take this to be sufficient upon this sudden, since what is any Way necessary or fit for us is to your Lordships, in your Wisdom and Experience, best known, and so we do most humbly take leave, with this Assurance, that we will leave nothing unperformed that may give true Testimony to the World that we value our Duty to our most gracious Sovereign, and tender the Preservation of this her Kingdom, committed to our Charge (as we know we ought), before our Lives and Livings, and doubt not but to give her Majesty a very good Account of all our Doings.

From Kilkenny

Your Lordship's

23d of Sept.

1601.

most humbly to command, &c.

*Signed by the Lord Deputy
and Council.*

*The 24th Day his Lordship wrote this following
Letter to Master Secretary.*

S I R,

I DID ever think, that if any foreign Force should arrive, it would be doubtful for me to lay my Finger on any sound Part of all this Kingdom, which if our Supplies had come in time, to have left the Northern Garrisons strong, we might in some good sort have provided for, but now my Resolution is this, to bend my self as suddenly as I can against these foreign Forces. If we beat them, let it not trouble you, though you hear all *Ireland* doth revolt, for (by the Grace of God) you shall have them all return presently with Halters about their Necks: If we do not, all Providence bestowed on any other Place is vain. Till I know more particularly in how many

ny Places they have made their Descent, I cannot write much; but for the present I apprehend a World of Difficulties, with as much Comfort as ever poor Man did, because I have now a fair Occasion to shew how prodigal I will be of my Life, in any Adventure that I shall find to be for the Service of my dear Mistress, unto whom I am confident God hath given me Life to do acceptable Service, which when I have done, I will sing *Nunc dimittis*. This Day I expect to receive Light and further Ground to write more at large, and being now ready with the President to take Horse, whose Fortune and mine shall now be one, I leave you to God's continual Blessings, in haste. *Kilkenny*, the 24th of September, 1601.

The same Day Master Marshal was dispatched into the Pale, to draw the Companies thereabouts towards *Munster*, and to procure from the Council at *Dublin* all Things necessary for that Business. Sir *Henry Davers* was sent for the Companies about *Armagh*, and Sir *John Barkely* had Direction to bring other Companies that were laid about the *Navan*. And the Lord Deputy the same Night rode to *Kiltinan*, a Castle and Dwelling of the Lord of *Dunboyne*, being a great Day's Journey, where he was assured that the *Spaniards* were landed and entered into *Kinsale*. The 25th his Lordship rode to *Clonmell*, where Sir *Nicholas Walsh*, one of the Council, came to him, and there it was resolved, his Lordship should go on to *Cork*, and so to proceed as there should be Cause. The 26th his Lordship rode to *Glonowre*, the Lord *Roche's* Castle. The 27th his Lordship rode from *Glonowre* to *Cork*, accompanied with the Lord President, Sir *Robert Gardener*, and Sir *Nicholas Walsh*, Counsellors.

The 28th Day his Lordship was advertised by a *Scot*, coming from *Lisbon*, that the *Spaniards* sent to *Kinsale*, were 6000 in Number, commanded

manded by *Don Jean de l' Aguila*, who had been General in *Britain*, that 1000 of them scattered by Tempest, were since arrived at *Baltimore*. That they were directed to *Kinsale*, with Promise of great Succours by the pretended Earl of *Desmond*, lately taken and sent into *England*, and by *Florence mac Carty*, whom the Lord President upon Suspicion had lately taken, and in like sort sent Prisoner into *England*. That the *Spaniards* gave out, that as soon as they could have Horses from *Tyrone*, and other *Irish* Rebels, in which Hope they had brought 400, (or as after was credibly advertised 1600 Saddles,) they would keep the Field, and therefore would not fortify at *Kinsale*, and that upon the Revolt of this Country, the King of *Spain* meant from these Parts to invade *England*.

Whereupon the same 28th Day the Lord Deputy resolved in Council, that Letters should be written into *England*, that it was given out, the *Spaniards* in *Munster* were 6000, and that of certain they were 5000 commanded by *Don Jean de l' Aguila*, whereof 3000 were arrived in *Kinsale*, and the Vice-Admiral *Siriago*, (for *Don Diego de Braſtino*, was Admiral of the Fleet,) with four other Ships scattered by Tempest, were arrived at *Baltimore*. That no *Irish* of Account had repaired to them, excepting some Dependants of *Florence mac Carty*, (of whose Imprisonment the *Spaniards* had not heard before their landing,) who was the Persuader of their coming to that Port. That to keep Rebels from joining with them, it behoved us presently to keep the Field. That it was requisite to send some of the Queen's Ships, who might prevent their Supplies, and give Safety to our Supplies, both out of *England* and from Coast to Coast, and might bring us to *Cork* Artillery for Battery, with Munition and Victuals. Likewise to write presently for 300 Northern Horse, and for the 2000 Foot at *Chester*, and 2000 more.

more. To write for 6 Pieces of Battery, the biggest to be Demi-Cannon for the Field, with Carriages and Bullets. To certify the Lords that Artillery could not be brought from *Dublin*, because the *Irish* Ships had not Masts and Tackle strong enough to take them in and out, (besides that, Easterly and Northerly Winds only serving to bring them, were rare at this Season of the Year;) and that the greatest Pieces in *Munster* lay unmounted on the Ground. And lastly, to write for Powder for 5000 Shot, and for 6 Pieces of Battery, (which must be some 60 last,) and for 50 Tun of Lead, with like Quantity of Match, and 5000 Pioneers Tools.

The same Day his Lordship was by Letters advertised, that a Fryar, in a Soldier's Habit, was dispatched from *Kinsale* the 24th of *September*, and passed through *Clommell*, naming himself *James Flemming*, and from thence went to *Waterford*, where he abode few Days, and named himself *Richard Galloway*. That he had Bulls from the Pope, with large Indulgences to those, who should aid the *Spaniards*, (sent by the Catholick King, to give the *Irish* Liberty from the *English* Tyranny, and the Exercise of the true old Apostolick Roman Religion,) and had Authority to excommunicate those that should by Letters, by Plots, or in Person join with her Majesty, (whom the Pope had excommunicated, and thereby absolved all her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance.) That every general Vicar in each Diocess, had Charge to keep this Secret till the Lord Deputy was passed to *Cork*, when he assured them, his Lordship should either in a general Defection not be able to understand these Proceedings, or hearing thereof should be so employed, as he should have no Leisure to prevent them. That he gave out, the *Spaniards* at *Kinsale* were 10000, besides 2000 dispersed by Tempest, which were landed at *Baltimore*, having
Treasure,

Treasure, Munition, and Victuals for two Years. And that *Tyrone* would presently come up to assist them at *Kinsale*, and to furnish them with Horses, which they only expected from him, and had brought Saddles and Furniture for them. Lastly, Advice therein was given to his Lordship to write to the corporate Towns and chief Lords, not to believe these fabulous Reports, but to take Advice (not given out for fear of their Defection, but only for their Good) to continue loyal Subjects.

The 29th his Lordship with the Lord President and the above named Counsellors, took some Horse for Guard, and rode to view the Town and Harbour of *Kinsale*, and the *Spaniards* Fleet, that upon that View, they might resolve of the fittest Place for our Camp to sit down by them. They found the *Spaniards* possessed of the Town, and the greatest Part of their Shipping to have put to Sea for *Spain*, (for of 34 Ships arriving there, only 12 now remained in the Harbour, some of the other being lately put out, and then seen under sail,) so as they saw there was no more to be done, till our Forces should be arrived out of the North and *Leinster*, and we enabled from *England* to keep our selves from breaking, after we should take the Field.

The 1st of *October* his Lordship and the Council here, wrote to the Lords in *England*, according to the Project resolved on the 28th of *September*, Further beseeching their Lordships to pardon their earnest writing for Munition and Victuals, though great Proportions of them were already sent, and that in respect the Magazines formerly appointed for the best, when the Place of the *Spaniards* Descent was unknown, were so far divided, as we could not without great Difficulties make use of them in these Parts, and at this time, when for the present the *Spaniard* was Master of the Sea, and the Queen's Forces being drawn

drawn towards *Kinsale*, the Rebels might easily intercept them by Land, but especially for that great Use might be made of those Provisions in the very Places where now they were, if *Tyrone* come into *Munster* with his Forces, as no doubt he would, namely, the Magazine at *Limrick* would serve excellently for the Prosecution formerly intended, and after to be made in *Connaught*, though by Sea or Land they could not be brought to *Cork*, without great Difficulties and Dangers. Adding that for the present, the Lord Deputy was forced to draw most of the Forces of the North into *Munster*, leaving only the Forts guarded, and so the Pale was not able to defend it self against *Tyrone*, whereas he hoped to have been enabled both to continue the Prosecution in the North, and also to besiege the *Spaniards* at one and the same time, whereof yet he did not altogether despair, so as their Lordships would speedily furnish such things, as were earnestly desired by them: For the Good of the Service, being confidently of Opinion, that the only Way to make a speedy End of the Rebellion, and as quick a Dispatch of the *Spaniards* out of *Ireland*, was to make the War roundly both in the *North*, and in *Munster* at one time. Also advertising that the *Spaniards* (as they for certain heard) brought with them not only 1600 Saddles, upon the Rebels Promise of Horse, but also great Store of Arms for the common People, upon hope they had given them of their general Revolt; and humbly praying their Lordships, that in regard our greatest Strength and Advantage consisted in our Horses, they would cause a thousand Quarters of Oats to be speedily sent for *Cork*, without which Store, our Horses were like to starve within a short time, and in case they approved the Prosecution in the North to be continued without Intermission, then they would be pleased to send the

the like Quantity of Oats to be kept in Store at *Carlingford*. Lastly, praying their Lordships to send hither a Master-Gunner, with 6 Canoniers.

The 2d of October, his Lordship wrote this following Letter to Master Secretary.

S I R,

I DO think we shall find these Forces out of *Spain* to be above 4000, abundantly provided with Munition, Artillery, and Arms (besides their own Use,) to arm the Country People, great Store of Treasure, and of all Victuals but Flesh. All the Chiefs that are in Rebellion, and all the loose Sword-men, will presently take their Parts. The Lords that we have reclaimed, if we do not defend them from *Tyrone*, must and will return unto him. Upon the first good Countenance the *Spanish* Army shall make, I fear me, many will declare themselves for them, but upon the first Blow we shall receive (from the which I hope God will preserve us,) I doubt there would fall out a general Revolt. The Commander of the *Spanish* Army is one of the greatest Soldiers the King of *Spain* hath, the Captain under him are most ancient Men, their Bands, some out of *Italy*, some from the *Terceraes*, and few *Bisnonies*. They are specially well armed, all their Shot (as I heard) Muskets, they have brought 1600 Saddles, and Arms for Horsemen, of light Shot, whereof they make account to be provided in *Ireland*, and so may they be, as well as in any Part of Christendom, and likewise to have Horses for their Saddles, but therein I think they will be deceived. There are not yet come unto us any other Forces, but such as only I found in this Province. Upon the Arrival of the first Troops (which I look for hourly) we shall send you Word of some good Blows that will pass between us, for I mean to dwell close by them

them (by the Grace of God) to put them to it. Sir, the King of *Spain* hath now begun to invade her Majesty's Kingdoms, if only to put *Ireland* in general Commotion, he hath chosen the worst Place, if to do that, and to lay a sudden Foundation for the War of *England*, the best: If he hath been deceived in any Expectation here, the State of *Spain* must now make good the Error, and doubtless is engaged to supply all Defects. The Commodity that is offered unto her Majesty is, that she may sooner prevent than *Spain* provide: Now, as her Majesty's faithful Workman, I am bold to propound in my own Task, that it may please her to send presently good Part of her Royal Fleet, and with them such Provisions for Battery as we did write for, and at the least so many Horse and Foot as by our Letter we have sued for, with Victuals and Munitions in Abundance for them. It will be fit that this Winter there be a sharp War made in *Ulster*, which will keep the *Spaniard* from any important Succour, and ruin for ever the Traitors, if the War be well followed. If it be made by the several Governors, the Effect will not be so great: If you will have it performed thoroughly, you must make one Governor of all *Ulster*, and the fittest Man that can be chosen in *England* or *Ireland* is Sir *Arthur Chichester*. If you resolve on that Course, from him you must continually receive his Demands, only of the 300 Horse we did write for, it were good he had sent him out of the North 100. For Foot, if you send him out of *England* to supply the Companies at *Loughfoyle* and *Knockfergus*, above our Proportion, it will be much better: For *Armagh* and those Parts shall receive from us. This Course I hope will soon make an End of the War in *Ireland*, of *Spain* in *Ireland*, and perchance of *Spain* for a long time with *England*. I doubt not but you will conceive this Action to be of no less

Importance than it is. What goodly Havens are in these Parts for shipping, how many fighting Men of the *Irish* may be from hence by the King of *Spain* carried for an Invasion of *England*; (the want of which two kinds hath been his chief Impediment hitherto) you well know. Believe, Sir, out of my Experience here, if the King of *Spain* should prevail in *Ireland*, he may carry above 10000 Men from hence, that joined with his Army, will be of more Use for the Invasion of *England*, than any that can be chosen out of any Part of Christendom. And now, Sir, that you know (as I hope) the worst, I cannot dissemble how confident I am, to beat these *Spanish Dons*, as well as ever I did our *Irish Macs* and *Oes*, and to make a perfect Conclusion of the War of *Ireland* as soon, as if this Interruption had never happened, if we have God's Blessing and the Queen's, and those ordinary Means without the which none but infinite Powers can work. I beseech the eternal God preserve her Majesty and her Kingdoms, and send me the Happiness to kiss her Royal Hands, with the Conscience of having done her the Service I desire. And so, Sir, I do wish you all Happiness, and will be ever

From Cork the
2d of Octo-
ber, 1601.

Yours, Sir, most assured
to do you Service,

Mountjoy.

*The same Day his Lordship wrote another Letter to
Master Secretary, as followeth.*

S I R,

HERE are divers worthy Men very fit to have Charge, who have followed the Wars here as Voluntaries to their very great Expence, and
look

look now by my Means to have Command upon the coming over of the next Companies, if you send more than serve only for Supplies. I have no means to keep them from going thither, to use the Help of their Friends and get them Companies there, but by promising them any thing that I can do for them here, for by that Course I conceive I ease you of that trouble, which their importunate Suits would breed you, and hold them here ready for any Service upon the sudden, thinking it no Policy at this time to spare any, that may give Furtherance to the great Work we have in Hand. If it will please you to do me that Favour, to procure that the Companies to come over, may be appointed Captains of my Nomination, I shall be able to satisfy those Gentlemens Expectations, who, I am persuaded, will be fitter for this Imployment than any that can be sent from thence, and they finding their Advancement here, where they are to be tied to their Task, will (in my Judgment) endeavour to deserve the best, being in the Eye of him that was the Means thereof, which for the Service Sake chiefly I affect, though I can be content, Sir, to acknowledge unto you, that I would gladly have the World see, that I am no less graced in my Employments than my Predecessors have been; for this People do not little observe it, and at this present especially I hold it a Matter of that Consequence, as without it, I shall be the less able to wield this great Business, with that Success that otherwise I am hopeful of: We have not here any of the Queen's Pinnisses, whereof at this time there is great want. At my coming out of the North, although the Rebels in general did give out, that they were out of hope of foreign Succours this Year, (I think in Policy, and to make us slow to call for Supplies,) yet *Turlogh mac Henry* did assure me upon his Life, that the *Spa-*

niards would come, and further told me that one *Bath Agent* for *Tyrone* in *Spain*, and since returned to him, was sent into *Scotland*, whence he was presently to return: Whereupon I delivered a Description of the Man to Capt. *Button*, and willed him to lie upon the Coasts to apprehend him, assuring my self that I should have wrested out of him the Certainty of all Things. Since that time I have heard nothing of that Captain, nor of the Queen's Pinnis under his Command. I pray you, Sir, let us have some of the Queen's Ships with Expedition, for without them we shall not be able to convey any thing upon this Coast from Place to Place, and the Ways by Land will be dangerous. So, Sir, I wish you all Happiness.

The 3d. of October, his Lordship and the Council here wrote to the Lords in England this following Letter.

It may please your Lordships,

HAVING seriously considered of the great Work we have now in Hand, we observe that besides the Foreign Enemy the *Spaniard* with whom we are first to deal, and the known Traitors and Rebels already in Arms, there are two other Sorts of People here, which if we do not carefully provide for, they will soon adhere unto the rest, and make their Party so strong, as in Judgment we cannot see how we shall be well able to encounter it, unless by good Providence it be prevented, which is the Mark we aim at. The one of these two sorts is the Subject, who hath Lands and Goods to take to, for whom we must provide Defence, else with his Livelihood we are sure to lose him, and therefore we will omit nothing that our Means will stretch to, that may preserve, cherish, and content him. The other sort are such as have no
Living,

Living, nor any thing that will afford them Maintenance, and yet hitherto have not shewed themselves disloyal, though all of them be Sword-Men, and many Gentlemen by Descent, and are able to draw after them many Followers. To this sort we hear for certain, the *Spaniards* make offer of great Entertainment, and if we should not in some sort do the like, we cannot in Reason look but they must and will fall to their Party. We have therefore out of this necessity resolved, to take as many of them into her Majesty's Entertainment, as we have any hope will truly stick unto us, being confident that we shall make good use of them against the *Spaniard*; for we mean thoroughly to put them to it, though if we should fail in our Expectation, and find them cold or slack in serving with us, yet will it be a great Countenance to the Service to shew the Persons of so many Men on our Side, where otherwise they would have been against us: And of this we can assure your Lordships that when they have served our turn against the *Spaniards*, until we have freed ourselves of them, we can without Danger ease her Majesty of that Charge, and will no longer hold them in Entertainment. In the mean time they shall spend little of the Queen's Victual, but being paid of the new Coin, provide for themselves, which may be with less Oppression to the Country, than if in that sort they were not entertained, for then they would spoil all, and put out such as otherwise will continue in Subjection. Of this course of ours, we humbly desire your Lordships Approbation (though we will be very sparing to entertain more than shall be necessary) and warrant to Master Treasurer to make them payment, and hold us we beseech you excused for resolving it, before we acquainted your Lordships therewithal, seeing we were enforced thereunto by neces-

sity for the Service sake (since many of them were active, and would otherwise have served the Enemy), and we could not sooner write unto your Lordships of it, and even so, &c.

The same Day Sir *Benjamin Berry* came to *Cork* with his Lordship's Guard which he commanded, and with some other Companies (for till this time his Lordship had no part of the Army with him, but only the Bands of the *Munster* Lift.) The 9th. Day the Companies came to *Cork*, which Sir *Richard Wingfield* the Marshal had drawn out of the Pale, and Sir *John Berkley* Serjeant Major had drawn from the Frontiers of *Leinster* and *Connaught*. The 10th. Day being *Saturday*, the Companies came to *Cork*, which Sir *Henry Davers* had drawn from *Armagh* and the Northern Garrisons. And this Day Sir *Richard Wingfield* Marshal, and Sir *John Barkley* Serjeant Major, were sent with some Horse and Foot, to view and chuse a fit Ground near *Kinsale*, where our Army might sit down to besiege the Town. The next Day some Horse and Foot were sent out to keep the *Irish* from selling Victuals to the *Spaniards*. The 12th. two *Frenchmen* ran from the *Spaniards* to us, who confessed that 3000 *Spaniards* landed at the first in *Kinsale*, beside 600 since arrived in a great Ship scattered from them by a Tempest.

This Day one advertised his Lordship, that under Pretence of favouring the *Spaniards* Descent, he had spoken with their General; who inquired whether the Lord Deputy in Person came to view *Kinsale*, and with what Numbers, to which he answered, that he was there in Person with 400 Foot lodged not far off out of sight, and 4 Troops of Horse. That he asked what Soldiers the Lord Deputy had, to which he answered some 8000, besides the daily Arrival of others of the Army in *Leinster* and the North: What Soldiers
were

were new, and what Weapons they had, and what Artillery the Lord Deputy had, to which he answered with Addition to our Strength. He said that the General presumed by the contrary Winds, that they in *England* heard not of his Arrival, and though he told him the *English* Fleet was at *Plymouth*, he seemed not to believe it, and made Countenance, that they should have enough to do, to defend the *English* Coast from Invasion, and much insisted upon the Copper Money the Queen sent, with Purpose to make the *Irish* her Slaves: But promised Gold and Silver from his Master. That he inquired of *Tyrone* and *o Donnel*, seeming to distaste their being so far off, and the Way to them being dangerous, and his own want of Horses, and therefore prayed this Gentleman to certify *Tyrrel* and the Lord of *Leitrim*, that he expected *Tyrone* with Horses and Beeves, which he prayed them to supply in the mean time, both sending him Notice before they came, adding that himself had Bread, Rice, Pease, and Wine for 18 Months, and Store of Treasure. And that he inquired much after the Strength of *Cork*, and the Queen's new Fort there. Lastly, he advertised, that the Ships returned were 14 (of them six the King's own of 1000 Tun the least, in which was the Admiral General, *Saint Jago*, and the great Admiral of *Castil*, *Don Diego, de Bruxero*.) That the 12 remaining were smaller, and embarged (or arrested) to serve the King, whereof some were *Irish*. That the Ships at *Baltemore* had 700 Men. That by his View, there were 3000 in *Kinsale* royally provided of all Provisions for War, having many Saddles for Horses; and that upon *Tyrone's* expected coming, they intended to take the Field.

The 13th. It was resolved we should presently take the Field, though we had not as yet any Provisions fit for that Purpose, but that Day and the two Days following we could not stir from *Cork*, by reason of extream Rain and foul Weather. Neither Artillery, Munition nor Victuals were yet come from *Dublin*, yet it was thought fitter thus unprovided to take the Field, than by Discovery of our Wants to give the *Irish* Opportunity and Courage to join with the *Spaniards*.

C H A P. II.

*Of the besieging of the Spaniards at Kinsale, with
the Delivery of the Town to the Lord Deputy,
and their Return into Spain in the same Year,
1601.*

THE 16th. Day of *October*, his Lordship with his Army rose from *Cork*, and incamped five Miles short of *Kinsale*, at a Place called *Owny Buoy*. The 17th. the Army rose, and marching towards *Kinsale*, incamped within half a Mile of the Town under a Hill called *Knock Robin*, where some few shot of the *Spaniards* offered to disturb our sitting down, but were soon beaten home. We had at that time scarce so much Powder as would serve for a good Days fight, neither had we any competent Number of Tools, so as we could not intrench our selves, for these Provisions were not yet come from *Dublin*. That Day Captain *Morgan* came out of *England* with one of the Queen's Ships, and our Master Gunner came from *Waterford*, advertising that some Ships of Provisions, sent from *Dublin*, were come to that Port, where they were

were enforced to stay by a contrary Wind, being Southerly. The 18th. the Army lay still, and we viewed the fittest Places to incamp near the Town: But our Artillery being not come, we removed not. And that Night the *Spaniards* made a Salley much greater than the former, to disturb our Camp, but our Men soon repelled them without any Loss to us. The 19th. we lay still, expecting Provisions, and that Day, our Men sent to view the Ground, had some slight Skirmishes with the Enemy, and *Don Jean* after professed, that he never saw any come more willingly to the Sword, than our Men did. That Night Sir *John Barkley* was appointed to give Alarm to the Town, who did beat the *Spanish* Guards set without the Town, into their Trenches. The next Night after, some 1600 *Spaniards* came to the top of the Hill, under which we lay, either with Purpose to cut off some of the Scouts, or to attempt something on the Camp: But Sir *John Barkley* lying with a Party of ours not exceeding 300, discovered them, and skirmishing with them, killed some dead in the Place, took some Arms and other Spoil, and hurt divers, and did beat them back to the Town, without the Loss of any one of our Men, and only 3 hurt.

The 21st. *Cormock mac Dermot* an *Irishman*, chief of a Country called *Muskerry*, came with the rising out (or Soldiers) of his Country, to shew them to the Lord Deputy, who to the end the *Spaniards* might see the meer *Irish* served on our Side, commanded them at their return to pass by the *Spanish* Trenches, made without the Town on the top of the Hill, but lodged strong Parties (out of the Enemies Sight) to second them. The *Irish* at first went on well, and did beat the *Spanish* Guards from their Ground, but according to their custom, suddenly fell off, and so left
one

one of the Lord Presidents Horsemen engaged, who had charged two *Spaniards*: But Sir *William Godolphin* commanding the Lord Deputy's Troop, when he saw him in Danger, and unhorfed, did charge one way upon their gros, and Captain *Henry Barkley* Cornet of the same Troop, charged another way at the same Instant, and drove their Shot into the Trenches, and so rescued the Horseman with his Horse, coming off with one Man hurt, and only one Horse killed, from the great Numbers of *Spanish* shot, whereof 4 were left dead in the Place, divers carried off dead into the Town, and many hurt.

The 22d. Day Captain *Button* arrived at *Cork* with the Queen's Pinnis, called the *Moon*, which waisted other Ships bringing Victuals and Munition from *Dublin*, and the same Day came to the Camp, advertising that the same Ships were come from *Waterford* towards *Cork*. That Night his Lordship sent him back, to bring his Ship about to *Kinsale* Harbour, and to take with him Captain *Ward's* Ship from *Oyster Haven*, where it lay to guard the Victual and Munition we brought with us.

These two Ships were commanded to annoy the Castle of *Rincoran*, seated close upon the Harbour of *Kinsale*, and possessed by the *Spaniard*; but after they had spent many Shot upon the Castle without any great Effect, because their Ordinance was small, they lay still to keep the Harbour, that neither the Castle nor the Town might be relieved by Water, which was the chief end of their coming. The 23d. the *Dublin* Shipping arrived at *Cork*, and were directed to come presently to *Oyster Haven*, where we might unlade the Artillery (which could not be brought by Land), and other Provisions for the present use of the Army.

The

The 24th. Day it was resolved, we should rise and incamp close by the Town, but the Shipping being not come about with the Artillery and other Necessaries, that Day was spent in dispatching for *England*. And by Night Captain *Blany* and Captain *Flower* were sent out, to lie with 500 Foot, to entertain the *Spaniards* which were drawn out of the Town, but they came no further, and so our Men returned.

This Day his Lordship and the Council wrote to the Lords in England this following Letter.

It may please your Lordships,

SINCE our last Dispatch from *Cork*, which bare Date the 4th. of this present Month, we spent some time there, expecting the coming of the old Companies out of the Pale and Northern Parts, and hoping to be supplied with Victuals, Munition, and other Necessaries from *Dublin*, without which we saw it would be to little purpose to take the Field. But when we had stayed there till the 16th. and were not provided of Munition, (none being come to us from *Dublin* or from *Limrick*, whether we had likewise sent to have some brought to us,) and wanting both Victuals, and most of the Provisions belonging necessarily to so great a Siege, yet to invest the Town where the *Spaniards* are lodged, from receiving Succours both of Victuals and of such as were disposed to join with them, and withal to avoid the Opinion, which the Country began to conceive of our Weakness, because we did not draw into the Field, we resolved the 16th. Day to rise, and the next Day did sit down within less than halt a Mile of the Town, keeping continual Guards round about the Enemy. We can assure your Lordships that we do not think ourselves

selves much stronger (if any thing at all) in Numbers than they are, whose Army at their setting to Sea, did bear the Reputation of 6000, and we have cause to judge them (because since our last Letters to your Lordships, there arrived another Ship at *Kinsale*, which brought 500 Men more unto them) now to be above 4000 by the Pole. In both these Points of Number in Reputation or by Pole, they differ not much from ours, for it may please your Lordships to consider, that the whole Force we can draw into this Province (leaving the Pale, *Connaught*, and the *North* provided for, as it may appear by this inclosed Note they are in some Measure) doth not exceed in List 7000, and of those we are enforced to leave some Part upon the Borders towards *Limerick*, to be some stay to the whole Country, and it must in reason be thought, that our Companies generally are weak in Numbers, seeing they have had no Supplies of a long time, and that we desire 2000 to reinforce them, besides that many are taken out of them for necessary Wards, some are sick, and many of the Northern Companies lie yet hurt, since the late great Skirmishes against *Tyrone*, which they performed with good Success, but a little before they were sent for to come hither. We do assuredly expect, that many will join with *Tyrone*, (if he only come up towards these Parts), and almost all the Swordsmen of this Kingdom, if we should not keep the Field, and the Countenance of being Masters thereof, how ill provided soever we do find ourselves. Wherefore we most humbly and earnestly desire your Lordships to hasten away at the least the full Number of such Supplies of Horse and Foot as we do write for in our last, and that it will please your Lordships to believe from us, that if the Country should join with *Tyrone*, and make a Defection, our chief Security will be in
the

the Horse we must receive out of *England*, for the most of these here already, are much weakened and harassed out, with their continual Employment in every Service. It may also please your Lordships to consider, that in a Siege, where four thousand such Men as these *Spaniards*, are possessed of any place whatsoever, there will be necessarily required royal Provisions, and great Numbers to force them, neither can it be thought, but the Sword and Season of the Year will continually waste our Army, so as we are enforced earnestly to desire your Lordships, while this Action is in Hand to send us continual Supplies, without which this Army will not be able to subsist. And although (grieved with her Majesty's huge Expence) we are loth to propound for so many Men as are conceived to be needful and profitable for the present Prosecution of this dangerous War, yet we are of Opinion, that the more Men her Majesty can presently spare, to be employed in this Country, the more safe and sudden End it will make of her Charge. And not without Cause we are moved to sollicite your Lordships to consider thereof, since we now perceive that we have an Army of old and disciplined Soldiers before us of four thousand *Spaniards* (that assuredly expect a far greater Supply), and much about twenty thousand fighting Men, of a furious and warlike Nation of the *Irish*, which we may justly suspect will all declare themselves against us, if by our Supplies and Strength out of *England*, they do not see us likely to prevail. These Provincials (a few of *Carbry* only excepted, appertaining to *Florence mac Carty*) do yet stand firm, but no better than Neutrality is to be expected from those which are best affected, nor is it possible to discover their Affections until *Tyrone* with the *Irish* Forces do enter into the Province, who (as the Council at *Dublin* write) is providing to come hither. The Supplies from *Spain* are presently expected: If they should arrive

rive before our Army be strengthened out of *England*, or before this Town of *Kinsale* be taken, it must be thought a general Defection throughout the Kingdom (wherein we may not except the Towns) will ensue, and then the War will be drawn to a great length, and the Event doubtful. If the Queen's Ships do not in time come to *Kinsale*, our Task will be very heavy, with this small Army to force so strong an Enemy, so well provided of all Necessaries for the War. Wherefore we humbly beseech the sending of them away, which will not only give us a speedy course to win the Town, but also assure the Coasts for our Supplies, and give an exceeding stay to the Country (the Enemy fearing nothing more, and the Subject desiring nothing so much as the Arrival of her Majesty's Fleet.) The 60 Lasts of Powder and 6 Pieces of Battery with their Necessaries, the Victuals and all things else, written for in our former Letters, we humbly desire may presently be dispatched hither, and although so great a Mess of Victuals, as is needful, cannot be sent at an instant, we desire it may be sent as it can be provided, and directed for the Haven of *Cork*. What we shall be able to do till our Supplies come, we cannot say: But what we shall have reason to fear, except they come in time, your Lordships may judge. Only we assure your Lordships, that her Majesty (with the help of God) shall find, we will omit nothing that is possible to be done, nor shun any thing that may be suffered, to do her the Service we owe unto her. If in the mean time, by all our Letters both to the Council at *Dublin*, and all others in this Country, to whom we have occasion to write, we give out these *Spaniards* to be in Number not 3000, in their means scant and miserable, in their Persons weak and sickly, and in their Hopes dismayed and amazed; we hope
your

your Lordships will conceive we do that, but for the countenancing of our Party, and to keep as many as we can from falling from us. On the other side, *Don Jean de l' Aguila* the *Spanish* General, hath used many Arguments to move the *Irish* to Defection, and among other (which is very forceable and fearful unto their wavering Spirits), he tells them, that this is the first great Action that the King his Master hath undertaken, and assures them he hath protested, that he will not receive Scorn in making good his Enterprize, and that he will rather hazard the Loss of his Kingdoms, than of his Honour in this Enterprize. The Priests likewise (to terrify the Consciences) threaten Hell and Damnation to those of the *Irish*, that do not assist them (having brought Bulls for that Purpose), and send abroad Indulgences to those that take their Parts. These and such like Policies (as their offering of six Shillings a Day to every Horseman that will serve them) do so prevail with this barbarous Nation, as it is a wonder unto us, that from present staggering they fall not to flat Defection, as they will soon do, if they once discover them of Ability to give us one Blow, before the coming of our Supplies and Means, which we are most earnestly to solicit your Lordships to hasten, assuring your Lordships that nothing will more confirm the State of this Kingdom, than the Arrival of her Majesty's Fleet, which we are resolved by the best Judgments may be employed in these Parts to prevent the Arrival of foreign Succours. Yet in the mean time we will omit nothing that shall be feafable with the Force we have, neither have we been idle since our coming hither, having had continual Skirmishes, whereof two especially were well performed by our Men. The first, the 20th of this Month, when the Enemy by Night sallied with more than 1000 Foot, to cut off a
Guard

Guard of Horse we kept near the Town, and purposing to attempt something on our Camp; but 300 of our Men led by Sir *John Barkley* did encounter them and beat them back, with Loss of many of their Men, and some Bodies left in the Field, by whose Spoil our Men were encouraged, and returned with Triumph. The other, the next Day when *Cormock mac Dermot*, chief Lord of *Muskerry*, coming to the Camp, to shew us his rising out, we willed him to return by the *Spaniards* Trenches, that they might see the *Irish* serve on our Side against them, where they entertained a good Skirmish, but soon falling off, a Horseman was engaged and unhorsed: but Sir *William Godolphin* with my Troop rescued him, charging close to their Trenches, in a way flanked by two Trenches, and filled with great Numbers of Shot, yet returned (to our great Marvel) with little or no hurt, having beaten them from their Strength, and killed many of their Men, whereof they left some behind them, besides others we saw them carry off. From this beginning we hope God will so bless our just Quarrel, as shortly we shall have cause to inform you of better Success. We understand that *Ty-rone* will presently come hither, which if he do, your Lordships can judge how weak we are to deal both with him and the *Spaniards*.

The same Day his Lordship wrote this following Letter to Master Secretary.

S I R,

W H A T we desire, and how our Affairs are disposed of, you have by our general Letters to my Lords. Now I will desire, that my unremovable Affection may be held as a Conclusion so absolutely granted, that I may no more trouble you with any Ceremonies; for you shall find,

find, that I will not value my Life, nor any fortune of this World to make you assured Demonstration thereof, when I shall have the Happiness to have Power and Occasion to shew it. Only now touching the point of my Lord President's coming over, to take from you any doubt, that in my own particular I could not earnestly concur with you, I do protest on my Christianity, that I know no Man in this Kingdom, that I could have been better pleased, should have been the Deliverer of my Affections and Actions, than himself, and by him unto you, and from you might have delivered and received much, which I desire most to do; neither do I know any, who I conceive could have delivered more sufficiently the present State of this Kingdom, nor propounded to greater Purpose for her Majesty's Service the course that will be fittest for you in *England* to embrace. But against mine own private Desire, he hath opposed his own peremptory Distaste of the Motion, with this Protestation, to hate me if I should urge it. Besides, it seems to me against the publick Commodity, in so weighty a Cause to send away so worthy an Instrument, and deprive ourselves of the Assistance we receive thereby at this time, (especially the Stage of this great Action being chiefly in his own Province, in the which the Success of his Government doth best shew what Authority his Judgment and Presence doth carry.) So that I conclude, for your Sake, his own and mine, but especially for the Publick, at this time he cannot well be spared from hence, besides that he hath vowed to fall out with all, if it be urged. And although these Spoils of Ambition are of all other the most unwillingly shared by Men of our Profession, yet I protest I am glad, even in this great Goal of Honour, to run

equally with him, and to participate with all his Adventures. This Band of the Honour we bear to you, and mutual Affection to each other, having for chief Knot the Service of our dearest Sovereign, there is no Corruption that may be likely to dissolve it; and therefore I hope it is tied by the Hand of God, and it shall not be in the Power of Man to loose it. I am assured, that you and I think, the State of *England* cannot but conceive the Importance of our Work: for now *facta est alia* between *England* and *Spain*, and we that do play the Game, have least Interest in the Stake, though we will win or lose our Lives, to shew that we do not play Booty: wherefore I hope you will not forget us, for *vestra res agitur*: And let this only Argument, which I could confirm with many Circumstances, oppose itself against the Counsels of those, that will sell their Birth Rites in Heaven itself, to please their own envious and partial Palates, that the War of the Low-Countries was begun, and hath been maintained with few more natural *Spaniards*, than are arrived here already; and that putting Arms and Discipline into this People, they are more warlike than any of his Auxiliaries. Sir, I will trouble you no longer, being desirous to do somewhat worth the writing. God send us an Easterly Wind, and unto you as much Happiness as I do wish unto my own Soul.

*From the Camp by
Kinsale 24th of Oc-
tober, 1601.*

Yours Sir,

most assured for ever,

to do you Service,

Mountjoy.

The

Chap. II. of IRELAND. 339

The 25th the Army was ready to rise, but the Weather falling out very foul, Direction was given not to dislodge. Four natural *Spaniards* came this Day to us from the Enemy, who the next Day were sent to *Cork*. This Night Sir *John Barkley* went out with some 300 Foot, having with him Capt. *Flower*, Capt. *Morris*, and Capt. *Bostock*, and fell into the *Spaniards* Trenches, and did bear them to the Town, fell into the Gate with them, and killed and hurt above 20 of the *Spaniards*, having but three hurt of our Men. Hitherto we lodged in Cabbins, so as it rained upon us in our Beds, and when we changed our Shirts.

The 26th the Army dislodged and incamped on an Hill on the North-side before *Kinsale*, called the *Spittle*, somewhat more than Musket-shot from the Town, and there intrenched strongly. When we sat down, we discovered that the *Spaniards* had gotten a Prey of 2 or 300 Cows, and many Sheep, which were (in an Island as it seemed) upon the South-east Side of the Town, beyond the Water, which we could not pass but by going eight or nine Mile about, where there was a Neck of Land to go into it. Capt. *Taffe* being sent with Horse and Foot, used such Expedition in that Business, as he attained the Place before Night, and by a hot Skirmish recovered the Prey, save only some 20 Cows that the *Spaniards* had killed, although they were under the Guard of a Castle, called *Castle-Ny-Park*, which the *Spaniards* had in Possession.

The Disposal of the whole Army in Ireland the 27th of October, 1601.

Left at *Loughfoyle*.

Sir *Henry Dockwra*, 50. Sir *John Bolles*, 50.
Horse 100.

Y 2

Sir

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Sir *Henry Dockwra*, 200. Sir *Matthew Morgan*, 150. Capt. *Badby*, 150. Sir *John Bolles*, 150. Capt. *Elrington*, 100. Capt. *Vaughan*, 100. Capt. *Bingley*, 150. Capt. *Coach*, 100. Capt. *Basset*, 100. Capt. *Dutton*, 100. Capt. *Floyde*, 100. Capt. *Oram*, 100. Capt. *Alford*, 100. Capt. *Pinner*, 100. Capt. *Winsor*, 100. Capt. *Sidley*, 100. Capt. *Atkinson*, 100. Capt. *Diggs*, 100. Capt. *Brooke*, 100. Capt. *Stafford*, 100. Capt. *Orrell*, 100. Capt. *Leigh*, 100. Capt. *Sidney*, 100. Capt. *Gower*, 150. Capt. *Willes*, 150. Capt. *W. N.* 100. Foot 3000.

Horse left at *Carrickfergus*.

Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Governor, 50. Capt. *John Jephson*, 100. Horse 150.

Foot left at *Carrickfergus*.

Sir *Arthur Chichester*, Governor, 200. Sir *Foulke Conway*, 150. Capt. *Egerton*, 100. Capt. *Norton*, 100. Capt. *Billings*, 150. Capt. *Phillips*, 150. Foot 850.

Foot left in *Lecaile*.

Sir *Richard Moryson* the Governor's Company under his Lieutenant, himself attending the Lord Deputy at *Kinsale*, 150.

Horse left in Northern Garrisons.

At the *Newry*, Sir *Francis Stafford*, 50. At *Mount-Norris*, Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, 50. Horse 100.

Foot

Foot in the North Garrisons.

At the *Newry*, Sir *Francis Stafford*, 200. At *Dundalk*, Capt. *Freckleton*, 100. At *Carlingford*, Capt. *Hansard*, 100. At *Mount-Norris*, Capt. *Atherton*, 100. At *Armagh*, Sir *Henry Davers* under his Lieutenant, himself being at *Kinsale*, 150. At *Blackwater*, Capt. *Thomas Williams*, 150. Foot 800.

Horse left in the Pale, and Places adjoining.

In *Kilkenny*, the Earl of *Ormond*, 50. In *Kildare*, the Earl of *Kildare*, 50. In *West-meath*, the Lord of *Dunsany*, 50. In *Lowth*, Sir *Garret Moore*, 25. Horse 175.

Foot in the Pale.

At *Kilkenny*, the Earl of *Ormond*, 150. Capt. *John Masterfon*, 100. Capt. *Thomas Butler*, 100. At *Catherlough*, Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, 150. Sir *Francis Shane*, 100. Sir *Tilbot Dillon*, 100. Sir *Edward Fitz-Garret*, 100. Sir *Henry Harrington*, 100. Sir *Richard Greame*, 100. At the *Naas*, Sir *Laurence Esmond*, 150. In *Ophalia*, Sir *George Bourcher*, 100. Sir *Edward Harbert*, 100. Sir *Henry Warren*, 100. In *Leax Fort*, Sir *Francis Rush*, 150. To be placed by the Council at *Dublin*, Sir *Henry Power* under his Lieutenant, himself being at *Kinsale*, 150. Sir *Samuel Bagnol*, 150. Sir *William Warren*, 100. Capt. *Guest*, 150. Capt. *Caulfield*, 150. At *Kildare*, the Earl of *Kildare*, 100. Capt. *o Carrol* in his Country, 100. At *Kells*, the Lord of *Dunsany*, 150. In *Westmeath*, the Lord of *Delvin*, 150. Capt. *Mac Henry*, 100. At *Aidee*, Sir *Garret Moore*, 100. Capt. *N. N.* 150. Foot 3150.

Y 3

Horse

Horse left in *Connaught*.

The Earl of *Glanrickard*, 50. Capt. *Wayman*, 12. Horse 62.

Foot left in *Connaught*.

Sir *Oliver Lambert*, Governor, 150. The Earl of *Glanrickard*, 150. Sir *Thomas Bourk*, 150. Capt. *Clare*, 150. Capt. *Thomas Bourk*, 100. Capt. *Malbye*, 150. Capt. *Tybbot ne Long*, 100. Capt. *Davy Bourk*, 100. A Company void for the Judges Pay, 100. Foot 1150.

Total of Horse 587. Total of Foot 9100.

The List of the Army with his Lordship at Kinsale.

The old *Munster* List.

Sir *George Carew*, Lord President, 50. Sir *Anthony Cook*, 50. Capt. *Fleming*, 25. Capt. *William Taffe*, 50. Horse 175.

Foot of the old List.

The Lord President, 150. The Earl of *Thomond*, 150. Lord *Barry*, 100. Lord *Audley*, 150. Sir *Charles Wilmot*, 150. Master Treasurer, 100. Capt. *Roger Harvey*, 150. Capt. *Thomas Spencer*, 150. Capt. *George Flower*, 100. Capt. *William Saxey*, 100. Capt. *Garet Dillon*, 100. Capt. *Nuse*, 100. Sir *Richard Percy*, 150. Sir *Francis Barkley*, 100. Capt. *Power*, 100. A Company for the Earl of *Desmond's* Use, 100. Foot 1950.

New

New Companies sent into Munster lately, which arrived and were put into Pay the 4th of September past.

The Lord President added to his Company, 50. The Earl of *Thomond* added to his Company, 50. Sir *George Thornton*, 100. Capt. *Skipwith*, 100. Capt. *Morris*, 100. Capt. *Kemish*, 100. Capt. *North*, 100. Capt. *Owsley*, 100. Capt. *Fisher*, 100. Capt. *York*, 100. Capt. *Hart*, 100. Capt. *Lisle*, 100. Capt. *Ravenscroft*, 100. Capt. *Richard Hansard*, 100. Capt. *George Greame*, 100. Capt. *Yelverton*, 100. Capt. *Panton*, 100. Capt. *Cullom*, 100. Capt. *Hobby*, 100. Capt. *Gowen Harvy*, 100. Capt. *Coote*, 100. Foot 2000.

Horse brought from the North and the Pale to Kinsale.

The Lord Deputy's Troop, 100. Sir *Henry Davers*, 100. Master *Marshall*, 50. Sir *Christopher St. Laurence*, 25. Sir *Henry Harrington*, 25. Sir *Edward Harbert*, 12. Sir *William Warren*, 25. Sir *Richard Greame*, 50. Sir *Oliver St. John*, 25. Sir *Francis Rush*, 12. Capt. *George Greame*, 12. Horse 436.

Foot that Sir John Barkley brought from the Borders of Connaught to Kinsale.

Sir *John Barkley*, 200. Sir *Arthur Savage* 150. Sir *Oliver St. John*, 200. Sir *John Dowdall*, 100. Capt. *Kingmill*, 100. Capt. *George Blount*, 100. Capt. *Bostock*, 100. Foot 950.

Foot brought out of the Pale by Master Marshal, and from the Northern Garrisons, by Sir Henry Davers to Kinsale.

The Lord Deputy's Guard, 200. Master Marshal, 150. Sir *Benjamin Berry*, 150. Sir *William Fortescue*, 150. Sir *James Fitz-piers*, 150. Sir *Thomas Loftus*, 100. Sir *Henry Folliot*, 150. Capt. *Edward Blany*, 150. Capt. *Josias Bodley*, 150. Capt. *Rotheram*, 150. Capt. *Thomas Roper*, 150. Capt. *Roe*, 150. Capt. *Treuer*, 100. Capt. *Ralph Constable*, 100. Foot 2000.

At Kinsale, Horse 611. Foot 6900.

Total of the whole Army in *Ireland*, Horse 1198. Foot 16000.

Of the 6900 Foot at *Kinsale* in *Munster*, one Company of 100 was converted to the Earl of *Desmond's* Use (who was then kept in *England*), and some were placed upon the Borders of the Province to be a Stay to the Country: And all the old Bands called out of the North, the Pale, and *Connaught*, were very deficient in Number, having been long worn out in Skirmishes, Journeys, and Sickneses, without any Supplies lately sent out of *England*, though much and often desired. These 6900 Foot were distributed into Regiments commanded by Colonels, as shall appear at the Increase of the List the next Month.

The 27th Day our Artillery and Provisions sent from *Dublin* were landed at *Oyster Haven*, our Munition was brought into the Camp, and the Front of the Quarter that faced the Town, and both the Flanks of our Trenches were more strongly fortified, and the Camp was round about intrenched, and all those works perfected, which could not be
done

done the Day before by Reason of the foul Weather.

Now the *Spaniards* held the Castle of *Rincorane* from their first landing; and because it commanded the Harbour of *Kinsale*, so that our Shipping could not safely land our Provisions near the Camp, it was thought fit to make the taking thereof our first Work. To which Purpose Sir *John Barkley*, Sir *William Godolphin*, and Capt. *Josias Bodley*, Trench-Master, were sent to chuse a fit Place to plant our Artillery against the Castle. The 28th Day two Culverins, which had not been long used, were made fit, and the next Day they were mounted. The *Spaniards* were in the Town 4000 strong, and we had not many more in the Camp by Pole, though our List were more. That night the *Spaniards* issued out of the Town by Water to relieve the Castle, but Capt. *Button's* Ship did beat them back. The 30th Day the two Culverins began to batter the Castle, but one of them brake in the Evening.

In the mean time the *Spaniards* gave an Alarum to our Camp, and drew a demy Canon out of the Town wherewith they play'd into the Camp, killed two with the first Shot near the Lord Deputy's Tent, shot through the next Tent of the Pay-Master (wherein we, his Lordship's Secretaries, did lie), brake a Barrel of the Pay-Master's Money with two Barrels of the Lord Deputy's Bear in the next Cabin, and all the Shot were made fell in the Lord Deputy's Quarter and near his own Tent.

This Night the *Spaniards* attempted again to relieve the Castle, but Sir *Richard Percy*, having the Guard with the Lord President's Regiment under his Command, did repulse them. The 31st Day the Culverin battered the Castle, and that Morning another Culverin and a Canon being planted,

planted, they play'd without Intermission, which while we were busily attending, 500 of their principal *Spaniards* came out of *Kinsale* (with Shew to go to relieve *Rincorran* by Land) and drew toward a Guard we kept between *Rincorran* and the Town (leaving a great Gross for their Seconds under the Walls), under that Colour to give a safe Passage for their Boats to the Castle. Whereupon divers broken Companies out of the Regiments in the Camp (being all in Arms) drew voluntarily that Way, and Sir *Oliver St. John* sent out Capt. *Roe*, his Lieutenant-Colonel, and Sir *Arthur Savage's* Lieutenant, with 100 Men, and seeing them likely to draw on a round Skirmish, he himself took 30 Shot of his own Company and went up to them, where he found Capt. *Roe*, and those with him, skirmishing with the Enemy's Shot, being 200, and having another Gross lying near the Town to second them; and seeing the *Spaniards* come up close with their Pikes to give a Charge, he joined with Capt. *Roe*, and encountering them, did beat them back to their Seconds, making them to retire hastily, the *Spaniards* then playing upon our Men with Shot from every Houle in that Part of the Town. In this Charge Sir *Oliver St. John* received many Pushes of the Pike on his Target, and with one of them was slightly hurt in the Thigh, but he killed a Leader and a common Soldier with his own Hand: The Lord *Audley*, coming up with his Regiment, was shot through the Thigh: Sir *Garret Harvey* was hurt in the Hand, and had his Horse killed under him: Capt. *Butler's* Lieutenant was slain, and 4 other of our Part: Sir *Arthur Savage's* Lieutenant was shot through the Body, and 14 other of our Part were hurt. The Enemy left ten dead in the Place, besides their hurt Men, which we apparently saw to be many, and the next Day heard to be 70,
by

by one who saw them brought to the House where their hurt Men lay, and who reported that eight of them died that Night. Likewise in this Skirmish *Juan Hortesse del Contreres* was taken Prisoner, who had been Serjeant Major of the Forces in *Britany*, and our Men got from them divers good Rapiers, and very good Arms.

All this while our 3 Pieces battered the Castle till six of the Clock at Night, when those of the Castle did beat a Drum, which the Lord President (whom the Lord Deputy had left there when himself in the Evening returned to take care of the Camp) admitted to come unto him. With the Drum came an *Irishman* born at *Cork*, and these in the Name of the rest prayed that with their Arms, Bag, and Baggage, they might depart to *Kinsale*. This the Lord President refused, and said he would not conclude with any but the Commander of the Castle, neither had Commission to accept any Composition, but yielding to her Majesty's Mercy. Presently they sent another Drum and a Serjeant with him, but the Lord President refused to speak with them. At their Return the Commander himself, being an *Alfiero* or (Ensign), called *Bartholomeo de Clarizo*, (for the Captain had his Leg broken), came unto the Lord President, but insisting on the Condition to depart with Arms, Bag and Baggage to *Kinsale*, his Offer was refused. After he was put safe into the Castle we began afresh the Battery, and they more hotly than ever before bestowed their Vollies of Shot on us. But the first of *November*, at two of the Clock in the Morning, when they found how the Castle was weakned by the Fury of our Battery, they did again beat a Drum for a Parley, but we refusing it many of them attempted to escape under the Rock close to the Water-side, which our Men perceiving, drew close up to the Castle and hindered their Escape. The first of *November*, early in the Morning,

ing, the Lord President came to the Camp and made Relation of that Night's Proceedings to the Lord Deputy, where it was determined, that if they would render the Castle and their Arms, upon Promise of Life to the *Spaniards* only, and promise to send them safe into *Spain*, they should be received to Mercy, which was concluded, because the speedy taking of the Castle was of Importance to the more easy furnishing us with all Provisions from that Harbour, and of Reputation to our Side, as also because we could not enter the Breach without Loss of good Men (which we esteemed precious, being no more by Pole in the Camp than the *Spaniards* in the Town besieged by us, by Reason our Companies were very deficient in the Numbers of the List, having not been supplied out of *England* of a long time), and because this noble Dealing with the *Spaniards* in the Castle might induce those in *Kinsale* to leave the Town upon like Composition when they felt the Misery whereunto we hoped ere long to bring them. About one Hour of the Day the *Alfiero* sent Word to the Lord President (by that time returned) that he would quit all their Arms and render the Place, so as they might be suffered thus unarmed to go into *Kinsale*, which being refused he intreated that himself alone might hold his Arms, and be put into *Kinsale*, which being also refused, he resolutely resolved to bury himself in the Castle. His Company seeing him desperately bent not to yield, did threaten to cast him out of the Breach, so as they might be received to Mercy; so as at last he consented to yield, and that all his People should be disarmed in the Castle (which was committed to Capt. *Roger Harvey*, then Captain of the Guards, to see it done), that the *Alfiero* himself should wear his Sword till he came to the Lord President, to whom he should render it up: And this being done, they were all brought Prisoners into the Camp, and immediately sent from
thence

thence to *Cork*. The *Spanish* thus yielded were in Number 86, and 4 Women (whose Names I have, but omit them for Brevity), besides a great Multitude of *Irish* Churls, Women and Children, but not any Sword-men; for those being skilful in the Ways had all escaped, one *Dermot Mac Carty* only excepted, who was a Pensioner to the King of *Spain*, and heretofore a Follower to *Florence Mac Carty*. Also some 30 *Spaniards* had been slain in the Defence of this Castle, which was now yielded to us, those in *Kinsale* not making one Shot at our Men the while, but standing as Men amazed.

The 2d of *November*, finding how much we had to do in taking *Rincorran* Castle with our weak Provisions, it was concluded, that all Attempts against *Kinsale* Town were in vain till we were better furnished for such a Business, which notwithstanding we made daily countenance to take in Hand. This Day we drew our Ordinance from the Castle into our Camp. The third Day of *November* the *Spanish* Sergeant Major in *Britany*, taken in a Skirmish, and the *Alfiero* yielding at *Rincorran*, obtained Licence to write to *Don Jean de l' Aguila*, and one of our Drums had Licence to carry their Letters, who stay'd in the Town all the following Night.

And this Day his Lordship received Letters of Supplies sent out of *England*, whereupon he wrote to the Council at *Dublin*, and to *Sir Arthur Chichester*, to make stay of certain Companies which lately he had directed to be brought out of the North and the Pale to the Camp at *Kinsale*. Touching the said Supplies her Majesty writ to the Lord Deputy this Letter following.

Elizabeth Regina.

Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well.

UPON such Advertisements as we have received from divers Places of a Fleet dispatched from *Spain* with a good Number of Men of War to be landed in that Our Realm in Assistance of

of Our Rebels there, We have thought good to send from hence some further Forces for Increase of Our Army there to enable you the better to make Head against them if they shall fortune to land: Wherefore we have caused to be levied here the Number of 2000 Men, and appointed them to be embarked by the 20th Day of this Month of *October* (above the other 2000 lately sent unto you); for this 2000 now levied, because We cannot certainly judge here, whether you shall find most commodious for Our Service, either to use them for the filling up of decayed Bands there, or to retain them in Companies, or to employ some of them for filling up the Decays of other Companies, and to retain other some in Bands; We have thought good to leave the Disposition of them to your Discretion with the Advice of our Council, and only to authorize you hereby, that forasmuch as any Part of them which you shall retain in several Bands will be above the Number of Our Establishment, for the Payment whereof neither you nor Our Treasurer have any Warrant, that you may give Warrant to Our Treasurer for the Payment of the whole or any Part of the said 2000 which you shall find necessary to retain in Our Pay in Bands several above the Number of Our Establishment, or any other former Warrant limited, the said Payment to be made in lending and Apparel, as other our Soldiers there are paid, and to begin from the Day of their Landing there. Since the writing of thus much to you, concerning the 2000 preparing, We have received Advertisements of the landing of the *Spaniards* at *Kinsale*, whereupon we have added a further Supply of 3000 Men more to be sent to you. And for that it may be We shall have Cause to increase or alter the Numbers of our Army, as Our Service shall require, We do therefore give you Warrant to give Order from Time to Time for the
Payment

Payment of all such Numbers of Men there, either Horse or Foot, above the Number limited by Our Establishment, as you shall be from our Privy-Council here, or six of them (whereof our Treasurer of *England*, and our principal Secretary, to be two), authorized to retain in Our Pay as Our Service shall require. Given under Our Signet at Our Manor of *Richmond* the 4th Day of *October*, in the 43d Year of Our Reign.

Postscript. Of all these Numbers 2000 shall be embarked in Our own Ships by the 14th of this *October* at *Rocheſter*, because they shall be secured in their Transportation; 2000 more shall be sent by the 20th of this Month to *Bristol* and *Barſtable*, and the 5th odd thousand shall be sent to *Loughſoyle*; so as Our Levy is now in all 5000 Men.

The ſame Day his Lordſhip received another Letter from the Queen, of her own Hand, and ſigned below, not above (as ſhe uſually ſigned), as followeth.

SINCE the Brain-fick Humour of unadviſed Affault hath ſeized on the Hearts of Our cauſeleſs Foes, We doubt not but their Gain will be their Bane, and Glory their Shame, that ever they had the Thought thereof. And that your Humour agrees ſo rightly with Ours, We think it moſt fortunately happened in your Rule to ſhew the better whole you are, and what you be, as your own Hand-Writ hath told Us of late, and do beſeech the Almighty Power of the Higheſt ſo to guide your Hands that nothing light in vain, but to proſper your Heed that nothing be left behind that might avail your Praise, and that yourſelf in venturing too far make not the Foe a Prey of you. Tell Our Army from Us that they make full Account

count that every 100 of them will beat a 1000, and every 1000 theirs doubled. I am the bolder to pronounce it in his Name, that ever hath protected my righteous Cause, in which I bleſs them all. And putting you in the firſt Place, I end, ſcribbling in haſte,

Your loving Sovereign,

E. R.

The ſame Day his Lordſhip received Letters from the Lords in *England*, ſignifying that 10 Ships of War ſet ſail from *Rocheſter*, with the firſt Wind after the 8th of *October* laſt, to attend the Coaſt of *Munſter*, wherein were ſent 2000 Foot for the Army in *Munſter*, under Captains appointed. That 2000 more were then levied to be ſent to the Army, by the Way of *Briſtol* and *Barſtable*, which were left to his Lordſhip, to be diſpoſed in Supplies or Companies, as he thought fit. That 1000 Foot more were ſent to ſupply *Loughfoyle* Garrifon. That 200 Horſe were ſent to his Lordſhip for the Army, and 50 Horſe to *Loughfoyle*. That they had ſent his Lordſhip, beſides the former twenty Laſt of Powder, thirty Laſt more. That they had ſent large Proviſions of Victuals. And that they greatly commended the Lord Preſident's Providence, that he had made his Soldiers formerly live of their Pay in Money, and ſo preſerved the former Store of Victuals in *Munſter*, for this time, without which the Army could not have kept the Field till the new Proviſions arrived. The laſt Part of their Lordſhips Letter followeth in theſe Words: Hereunto we muſt add this, as that whereof our ſelves have been a good while both Hearers and Obſervers, That no Prince can apprehend with better Acceptation your Lordſhip's Proceeding in that Kingdom,

Kingdom, than her Majesty doth, in so much as she used often this Speech, that she would not wish her Army there, nor the Safety of her People in better Hands than in yours. In whom (and so in other principal Officers of her State and Army) as she doth observe, that all Difficulties are well entertained with Alacrity and Resolution; so we must let your Lordship know, that when her Majesty had read a private Letter of yours to me the principal Secretary, written from *Kilkenny* with your own Hand, as soon as you had heard the News of a foreign Enemy, it pleased her Majesty to cause it be read to us all, as being written in a Stile, wherein she discerned both the strong Powers of your own Mind (in promising to your self all happy Success against such an Enemy) and the lively Affections you bear to her Person (for which you desire to be made a Sacrifice,) wherein although you have not deceived her former Expectation, yet her Majesty would have you know, that she doth not doubt, but you shall live to do her many more Services, after you have made the Province of *Munster* serve for a Sepulcher to these new Conquerors. Of the 4000 Men which now her Majesty sendeth into *Munster*, we send only 2000 under Captains, the rest we leave to Conductors, to be used as you shall please, when they arrive, and to displace any whom we do send, if you think them not sufficient. Now therefore till we hear further from you, we have no more to say, but that we account our selves all in one Ship with you; that we will all concur to advance by our Ministry, whatsoever her Majesty shall resolve to do for you, all of us having one End and one Desire, to inable you as her Majesty's principal Instrument, to free that Kingdom from the malicious Attempts of foreign Power, and to redeem it out of the inward Miserie by intestine Rebellion.

The 5th of *November* four Barks with Munition and Victuals that were sent from *Dublin*, arrived in *Kinsale* Harbour, and upon certain Intelligence, that *Tyrone* was coming up with a great Army to join with the *Spaniard*, it was resolved by the Council of State, and the Colonels of Council at War, that the next Day the Camp should be fortified against *Tyrone*, on the North Side furthest from the Townward, and that the next Day following, the Lord President with two Regiments of Foot, consisting of 2100 Men in List, and with 325 Horse, should draw to the Borders of the Province, to stop, or at least hinder *Tyrone's* Passage. To which Purpose the Lord *Barry*, and the Lord *Bourk*, with the Forces of the Country, had Direction to attend the Lord President.

The 6th Day the Camp was accordingly fortified, and the 7th in the Morning, the Lord President with the said Horse and Foot left the Camp, at which time it was concluded by both Councils, that we could attempt nothing against the Town, until either the Lord President returned, or the new Forces and Provisions promised from *England* arrived, it being judged a great Work for us in the mean time, to continue our lying before the Town, since the *Spaniards* in the Town were more in Number, than we who besieged them.

The same 7th Day his Lordship and the Council here wrote to the Lords in England this following Letter.

It may please your Lordships,
THE 1st and 2d of this present Month, we received her Majesty's and your Lordships most comfortable Letters, of the 4th and 6th of the last, and for the special Care it pleaseth you to take of us, do yield (as we have just Cause)
 our

our most humble and heartiest Thanks, protesting that we will labour to deserve the same and the Continuance which it pleaseth your Lordships to promise thereof, with the uttermost of our Endeavours and Services, even to the sacrificing of our Lives. And in the mean time humbly pray your Lordships both to accept in good Part and favourably to report unto her Majesty, what hitherto we have been able to perform, though nothing to that we did affect, if our Means had answered our Desires, or that little we expected to come from *Dublin*, which we sent for upon the *Spaniards* first landing here, had by a more favourable Wind arrived sooner, as we hoped. We beseech your Lordships give us leave to refer you for your Information in that Point to the Journal which herewithal we send, for thereby we conceive will best appear, both what we have done, and were enabled to do, since the Return of Master Marshal and other Officers and Commanders, sent of purpose into the Pale, and the Parts Northwards, to draw the Forces thereabouts the more speedily hither to us, and to hasten hither such other Provisions, as give us leave here we should have need of. And with your Lordships Favour, license us to add, that we can hardly proceed any further, till our Supplies of Men and Munitions come; for we find it a Work of great Difficulty and assured Loss of Men, and Expence of all Provisions of War, to undertake with these Means we have to force so many Men out of any Place, although it were not greatly otherwise fortified but by the Bodies of Men only, whereas this Town of *Kinsale* hath a good Wall, and many strong Castles in it.

We do look hourly for *Tyrone*, esteemed to be coming with a great Army of Horse and Foot, selected out of all the Rebels in *Ireland*, and from all others that he can seduce to his Party. At

his coming these Provincials will discover themselves either against us or Neutrals (as they are) for better we do not expect from them. Except our Supplies do come before his Arrival, we shall hardly be Masters of the Field, but rather driven (we fear) to discontinue our Siege; yet if her Majesty's Shipping, Provisions, and Supplies, do arrive in any time, we hope to give her (e're it be long) a good Account of this Place; though we desire your Lordships to consider the Difficulties we have to contend with in this Country and Season of the Year, besides the Force and Opposition of the Enemy. I the President do acknowledge the Receipt of such an Intelligence, concerning Captain *A.* as it pleaseth your Lordships to remember, and since that time kept very good spyal upon him, and have had the Sight of all his Papers, yet cannot find any thing gives me Cause to suspect him; and therefore we all think it fit, seeing his Company is returned hither among other, to make use of his Service here, for which we find him very fit, until there may be some apt Occasion to dispose of him elsewhere, without giving him Discontentment, unless we had more particular and certain Ground to charge him with, which we must receive from thence: Yet, in the mean time, he shall be so narrowly looked unto, as if he have the Will (which we doubt not,) he shall not have Means to hurt much.

The same 7th Day his Lordship understanding from Master Secretary by his Letter, dated the 19th of the last Month, and received the second of this Month, that he found her Majesty inclined to make one Governor over all *Ulster*, and especially to like of Sir *Arthur Chichester* for that great Charge, whereupon he purposed to proceed therein, if his Lordship would explain himself, how he would have that Matter carried.

His

His Lordship wrote his Mind plainly therein, advising that Sir *Arthur Chichester* should be made Governor of all *Ulster*, by what Name it should please her Majesty to give him, whereby he might direct all the Parts of that Province, and be Resident where he should think fittest for the Service, commanding in Chief where he came. The managing of the War to be in general left to himself, except he received particular Directions upon special Occasions from *England*, or from the Lord Deputy, adding, that from him the Lords might be more speedily informed, of what is done, or fit to be required for the making of that War, whom of all other Commanders he thought fittest for that Charge, praying that the Lords there would advise him and Sir *Henry Dockwra*, to hold a good Correspondency for her Majesty's Service, since he conceived the War was to be chiefly made by their two joining together. For the *Scots*, that any Number not exceeding 4000 might in his Conceit fitly be entertained, and left to the Disposal of Sir *Arthur Chichester*, whose Judgment upon the State of things there, was fittest to be followed, for he could best chuse apt Places to lodge them, 'till Sir *Henry Dockwra* and he might draw into the Field, when those *Scots* should join with them, and would be of very great Use to spoil, which is the best Service can be done upon the *Irish*. Concluding that he had written to Sir *Arthur Chichester*, that he should send into *England* to him the Secretary, his Opinion in this Business, which (no doubt) he would presently do. But this Project of appointing a Governor in *Ulster*, took no Effect by reason that *Tyrone* with most of his Forces were defeated shortly after in *Munster*.

Master Secretary at the same time had sent his Lordship *Spanish* News, which in this his Answer he confessed were very likely, yet thought it would

be very hard for them to make ready 4000 Men more before *Christmas*. He signified that they here were all of Opinion, that the Necessity of the *Spanish* Forces already in *Ireland*, being more than was expected, both by Loss at Sea, and since their coming hither, and by the failing of the *Irish* hitherto to join with them, their Supplies would be hastened sooner than was determined: For so they were advertised by all the Prisoners taken, and by such as did come unto us from them. His Lordship acknowledged himself very much bound unto Master Secretary for the good Dispatch he procured with this last Passage, and not the least that her Majesty was pleased to allow of their Entertainment of the *Irish*, yet beseeched him to believe that by this Course they had prevented *Tyrone* of a great many Men, that otherwise would and must have served him for Entertainment, having no other Means to live, and yet hitherto all was done within the Compass of the List, and the White Knight was one of them, that before the coming of this Approbation was provided for, so careful was he to give him good Contentment.

For their Outcries in the Pale, he answered that he did not marvel, for by that which he had observed, he did judge that the Word Pale had cost the Queen a Million, and yet so ill were they disposed, and so backward even in their own Defence, as they now suffered *Tyrone* with a few Horse, about the Number of 60 to burn and prey them at his pleasure, though they were able of themselves to have beaten him and all his Forces, and besides had the Assistance of Companies in the Queen's Pay, being 3000 or 2000 at least, yet if he would consider, that 4000 *Spaniards* (for so the Prisoner that we took delivered them to be upon his Salutation, with whom all our Prisoners Relation and our Intelligence did concur) are possessed

possession of a Town full of strong Houses, and walled about, and helped with many Advantages of Ground, (though commanded by some Places,) he might easily conceive, that it must be no small Army can force them, since our Approaches this Winter were so difficult, that the very Trenches we made were continually filled with Water, and the Decay of our Men was so great, by continual Labour, Sickness, Sword, and Bullet. And therefore we had no reason to keep a great Body of Men in the Pale to guard it, till this dangerous War were finished. But to prevent this Clamour of the Pale it was meerly impossible, though it would please her Majesty to keep there 10000 in her Pay, when they would not stir, nor raise the Cry, but suffer themselves to be so used, out of the Malice of their own Hearts, that they might have some Colour of Complaint, being the worst Sort of People in all the Kingdom, though he protested he had been as careful of them, as if they had been his Kindred or special Friends, knowing well their Humour to be so clamorous.

For her Majesty's Expence, he besought him to believe, that no Man did look upon it with more Griet than himself, who reaped no Commodity by it, only being a painful and faithful Distributer thereof, according to the Necessity of her own Service: But if he did not from his Soul desire, and with all his Wits and Endeavour seek to abridge it, and to end both her War and Charge, then he desired no Mercy of God, nor Favour from her. And if he were not bound thereto by his publick Duty, yet he protested, that his private Estate would urge him thereunto; which he found unable any longer to continue the Expence, at which he was forced to live, growing greater by the mixed Coin, as he ever thought it would fall very heavy upon him, by which Reason he might value his Entertainment to be less by the half, than it was

in the time of the old Standard. For whatsoever we bought with this new Coin, it was raised to the double Price.

Whereas it seemed Master Secretary had been informed, that all they which of late submitted themselves to her Majesty's Mercy and Protection, were now again revolted to the Rebels: He answered, that it was true, that some of them had made their Peace with *Tyrone*, and in truth, except we could have given Order for their Defence against him, he did never expect other from them, and especially since the Arrival of this foreign Force, he did think none in *Ireland* so sure but even here in *Munster* they would do the like, if our Army did not hang over them, yea, he was sure that the Lord President was of the same Opinion. But he was not moved to preserve any thing which the World (to his Disadvantage) might call his, by neglecting that which he knew fittest to be preserved for her Majesty and her Service. Touching these Submittees while they were in Rebellion, he did spoil, waste and kill many of them, when they were received to Mercy, he made many of them kill others in Rebellion, and lose their Lives for the Queen's Service, and now they were again revolted, he doubted not but either to ruin them again, or to force them to Submission, upon what Conditions he listed, if God pleased to send us an happy End of this War with the foreign Enemy. For the Atchievement whereof he hoped he should hear (by the Grace of the eternal God) that they would adventure as far, and in as good a Fashion, as might be expected from this Army, upon the Arrival of the Supplies of Men and Munition. Till when he protested, that we were at a Stand, because that he was most sure, that without good Numbers of Men, and Store of all Sorts of Munition, this Town so manned as it was, could not be forced. He

He added, that hitherto (God be thanked) we had in all our Endeavours prospered against this proud Enemy, and that there never was Army better disposed than this, nor Commanders that continually shewed more sound Judgment and brave Resolution than ours had done: In particular, that Sir *Oliver St. John* had had great Honour given him by the whole Army for that which he did in their Sight, for he found no man come off from the Skirmish (mentioned in the Journal) which spake not of what he had extraordinarily performed with his own Hand, and that in a far greater Measure than was therein related: That at the same Time the Lord *Audley* was hurt fighting very gallantly, and if it should please her Majesty to take notice thereof, it would be a great Comfort to them, and Encouragement to the rest: That he hoped God would enable us shortly to send him Relations of better Service. In the mean Time and ever he prayed the eternal God to preserve her Majesty and her Kingdoms, and send them, her poor Servants, Peace and Quietness.

He added that he could wish it had pleased her Majesty to have left the Horse to his Disposal, or at the least to have bestowed them on some *Englishman*, for as they were conferred, though he held the Commander a worthy Gentleman and faithful to her Majesty's Service, yet he was *Irish*, and in short time would make those Horse *Irish*, so as he accounted to have received only 100 to serve his Purpose; for he did very much build on those Horse, not only to be his chief Strength at this Time, but to have stood hereafter when her Majesty did lessen the Army, to be employed for the absolute finishing of this War. And to this Purpose now (in all Likelihood) he should not be able to make Use of them, which he confessed did not a little trouble him.

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He added, that although there were but 4000 *Spaniards* already landed, and they had no Horse, yet there was no doubt but they would avail themselves of great Assistance in this Country, and that with a Number much about this of natural *Spaniards* their King had made the long continued great War in the Low-Countries: Besides, he besought him to remember that about 200 *Spaniards* held a Fort lately built at *Croyden* in *Britany*, till Sir *John Norris* lost very near 1500 Men before it: that (God be thanked) we had plucked 150 *Spaniards* by the Ears out of *Rincorran*, and we hoped (by the Grace of God) to do the like by them in *Kinsale*; yet, except God should please extraordinarily to work for us, this was not likely to be done without great Loss of Men and Expence of all Provisions to that Purpose; For now they began to work very hard about fortifying of the Town, finding (as themselves said) that they had other Men to deal with than they expected, &c.

The 8th of *November* certain Ships, to the Number of 13, were descried to pass by *Kinsale* to the Westward, but it was not known whether they were *English* or *Spaniards*. The 10th Day we had News that the Earl of *Thomond* was landed with 1000 Foot left to the Lord Deputy's Disposal, and with 100 Horse appointed in *England* to be commanded by the said Earl; and these were the 13 Ships discovered to pass Westward.

By this Time the *Spaniards* had gotten Knowledge of the Lord President's Departure from the Camp with good Part of our Forces, and thereupon supposing us to be much weakened, (as indeed we were, and inferior in Bodies of Men to them in the Town), they drew out this Day about Noon most Part of their Forces, and soon after sent some 60 Shot and Pikes to the Foot of the Hill close by our Camp, leaving their Trenches very well lined for their Seconds: Some of ours
were

were presently drawn out to entertain skirmish with those that came up, and another strong Party was sent out towards *Rincorran*, who from the bushy Hill play'd in Flanks upon their Trenches, and did beat them from the same; so as they that were first sent out close to our Camp being beaten back by our Shot, and thinking to find the Seconds they left behind them, were disappointed by their quitting of the Trenches, and by that Means driven to follow the rest to the Succour of the Town; our Men following with much Fury hurt and killed divers, amongst whom they brought off the Body of a Serjeant, and possessed the Enemy's Trenches, the which the Enemies (being reinforced) made many Attempts to regain, but were repulsed and beaten back into the Town. We heard by divers that Don *Jean* committed the Serjeant-Major, who commanded them in chief, presently after the Fight, and threatened to take his Head, commended highly the Valour of our Men, and cry'd Shame upon the Cowardice of his own, who he said had been the Terror of all Nations, but now had lost that Reputation; and he gave streight Commandment upon Pain of Death, which he caused to be set up on the Town Gates, that from thenceforth no Man should come off from any Service until he should be fetched off by his Officer, though his Powder were spent or his Piece broken, but make good his Place with his Sword. Capt. *Soto*, one of their best Commanders was that Day slain, (for whom they made very great Moan), and some 20 more, besides those we hurt, which could not but be many. On our Side only some 10 were hurt and 3 killed, among whom Mr. *Hopton*, a Gentleman of the Lord Deputy's Band, was sore hurt, and in few Days died thereof. If this Skirmish had not been readily and resolutely answered on our Part, the *Spaniards* had then discovered the Smalness of our Numbers, and would

would no doubt have so plied us with continual Sallies as we should hardly have been able to continue the Siege.

The 11th Day we had News that the 100 Horse, and the 1000 Foot embarked at *Barstable*, (both which were left to the Lord Deputy's Disposal, the Horse to be made new Troops, the Foot to be dispersed for Supplies, or to raise new Companies as his Lordship should think fit) were arrived at *Waterford*.

The 12th Day Sir *Richard Levison*, Admiral of the Queen's Fleet sent into *Ireland*, and Sir *Amias Preston*, Vice-Admiral, were arrived with 10 Ships of War at *Cork*, wherein we had 2000 Foot all under Captains appointed in *England*, besides other Provisions of Artillery and Munition, and his Lordship directed the Admiral with all Speed to bring the Fleet into the Harbour of *Kinsale*.

The 13th Day his Lordship wrote to Master Secretary this following Letter:

S I R,

HEARING that our last Packet is not yet gone from *Cork*, by Reason of the Contrariety of the Wind, I have so good Occasion to make this Addition to our former Dispatch that I have received Letters from my Lord of *Thomond*, Sir *Anthony Cook*, and others from divers Places, that all the Supplies appointed for this Province are safely arrived at *Waterford*, *Yoghal*, *Cork*, and *Castle-Haven*, with no less (that I can hear of) but of one Victualer, although the Weather hath been extreme tempestuous; and this last Evening I was informed but by a Rumour, that the Queen's Ships were discovered about the Haven of *Cork*, whereupon I presently dispatched to Sir *Richard Levison* to put into the Haven of *Kinsale*, for otherwise it would be long ere we shall be able to avail ourselves of such Artillery and Munition as he

he brought for us. From my Lord President I heard that the Rebels are drawn down very strong, whereupon I have directed Sir *Christopher St. Lawrence* (that was coming to the Camp with most of the Forces of the Pale) to repair speedily to my Lord President, and I mean to send unto him all the Horse that is now come out of *England*, which I hope will be Forces sufficient to stop any Power the Rebels can make, specially since *Tyrone* (as I hear) himself will not be with them except they do steal by, which will be hard to prevent. If they come to force their Passage, I am confident that against so many Horse as the Lord President shall have, they will never put themselves upon the Plain: For although they are as dangerous an Enemy as any are in the World, when we are driven to seek them in their Strength, or pass their Fastness, yet are they the worst and weakest to force their own Way, either upon Streights or Plains, so that except they steal their Passage, (which I fear most), I make no doubt but my Lord President will give a very good Account of them. We hear in the Camp, since our last Letters, have not had much to do, only the Enemy one Day drew out (I think) most of his whole Force, upon Opinion that the greatest Part of our Army was gone from us to meet the Rebels, and began a round Fight with us close to our Trenches; but we entertain'd them so well that we waited on them Home to the Walls of the Town, and made them leave some of their dead Bodies behind them, although we saw them carry many off with them. They have made within less than Caliver Shot of our Trenches very good Fights, even from thence close to the Town, so that our Men did follow them with great Disadvantage, yet we did beat them from one Trench to another, till I had much ado to make our Soldiers come off. The greatest Loss of our Side
fell

fell to my Share, for I had one of my Company killed, and a very gallant Gentleman that served in that Band, called Mr. *Hopton*, hurt (I fear) to death, and I think there was not above 2 or 3 more that were killed in the Camp over our Heads while we were in the Skirmish. Then we made them so good a Muster that they have thought good to check us no more, but within the Town and without they do work very hard, and have raised Ravelins and Mounts, and we on the contrary Side keep very good watch; for if we should receive but one Blow of the *Spanish* Fencer, all *Ireland* would take Heart with it; and we have no great Reason to be very secure, for believe me upon my Honour, I think the Besieged are more in Numbers than we that are the Besiegers at this Time. They do continually taste us, but they find us so well at our Ward that they still go away with the Vennies. And now, if the Queen's Ships be come, we will cast at all, and I hope in God, ere it be long, win a fair Game for the Queen, whose Money we play. If any without consideration of the just Circumstances of our present Business, to serve any private Purpose, tax me for being too negligent of other Parts of this Kingdom, and too large in my Demands, I beseech you, Sir, to believe that I had good Ground both for my precipitate drawing hither, and for the Provisions I have craved to strengthen myself by all Means while I am about this Work. For the first, it was not my Opinion only, but my Lord President's, that if I did not suddenly make Head to this Force most of this Province would have revolted; and if we had suffered the Force of *Spain* to have been Masters of the Field but 6 Days, as easily they might have been, if we had not fought well to prevent it, I assure myself that all the Towns of this Province would have revolted, and the Current of that Fortune would

would have run so violently through all *Ireland* that it would have been too late to have stopped it. For the second, the Difficulties of a Winters Siege in this Country (where by Reason of the great Numbers of the Besieged we are forced to keep strong and continual Guards) will soon waste a greater Army than ours, if God do not mightily bless us; for the Weather is so extream that many Times we bring our Centinels dead from the Stations, and I protest even our chief Commanders (whose Diligence I cannot but mightily commend) do many of them look like Spirits with Toil and Watching, unto the which we are with good Reason moved, since there be many Examples that where an Enemy can fall out with 2 or 3000 Men they have defeated Armies that have been treble our Number. But now besides these ordinary Difficulties, which in all Winter Sieges do waste or make unprofitable the greatest Part of an Army, when we are to make our nearest Approaches to force them, we cannot do it without great Loss; for although the Town be weak against the Canon, yet can we plant the Canon no where, but they have Places that do absolutely command it, so that the Town is weak to defend itself, yet exceeding strong to offend, which is the best Part that Art can add to any Fortification, and this is so well provided by Nature that from one Hill they beat into any Ground that we can lodge in near them. All these Difficulties, and many more, I do not alledge as being any Ways diffident of the great Favour that God is determined to shew her Majesty in this Action, but that you may in some Measure guess that we are not so improvident in her Majesty's Cause as to require an Army and Charge of greater Proportion than is fit for such a Task, the which when we have performed with that Happiness, that I hope the eternal God will bless us

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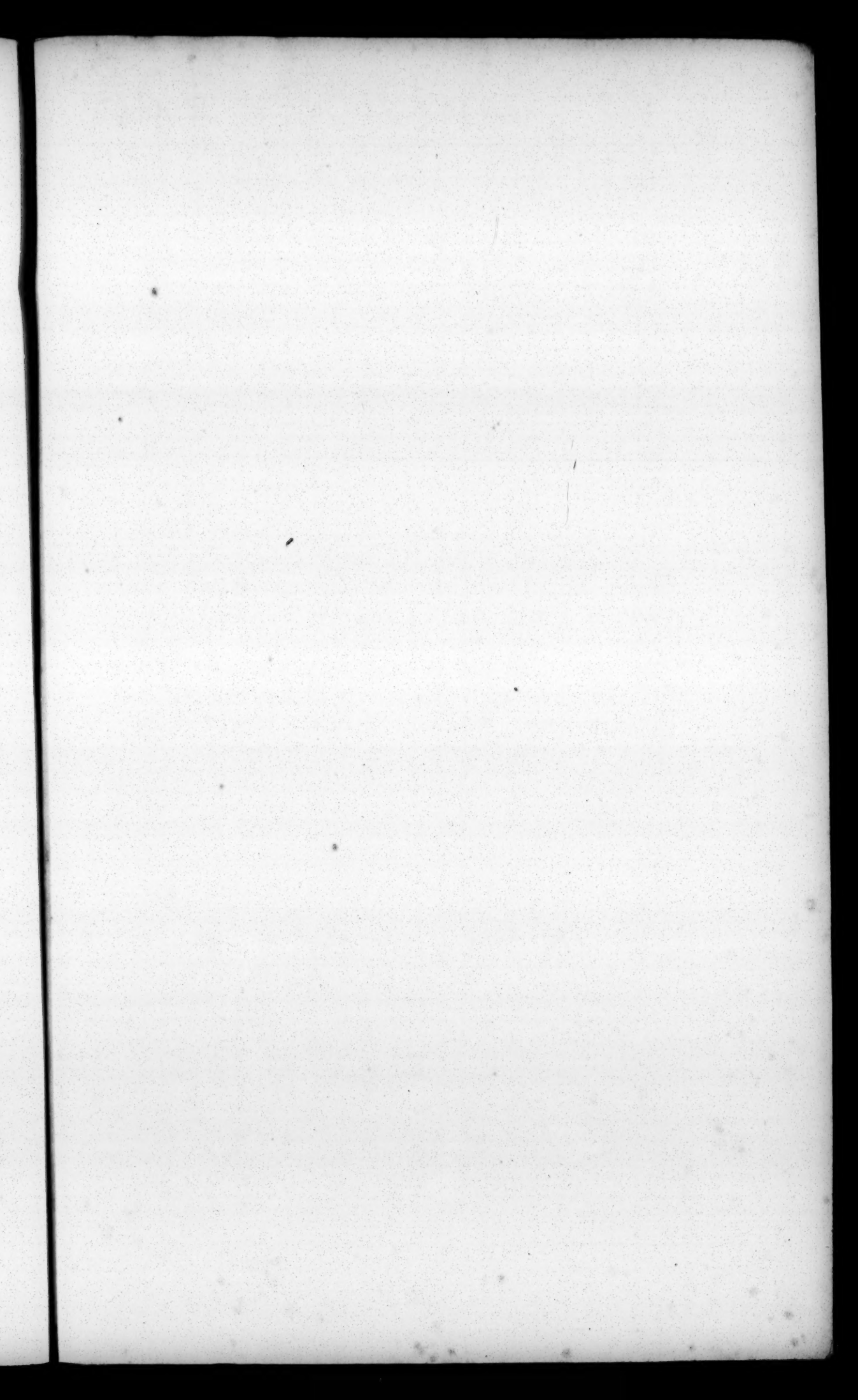
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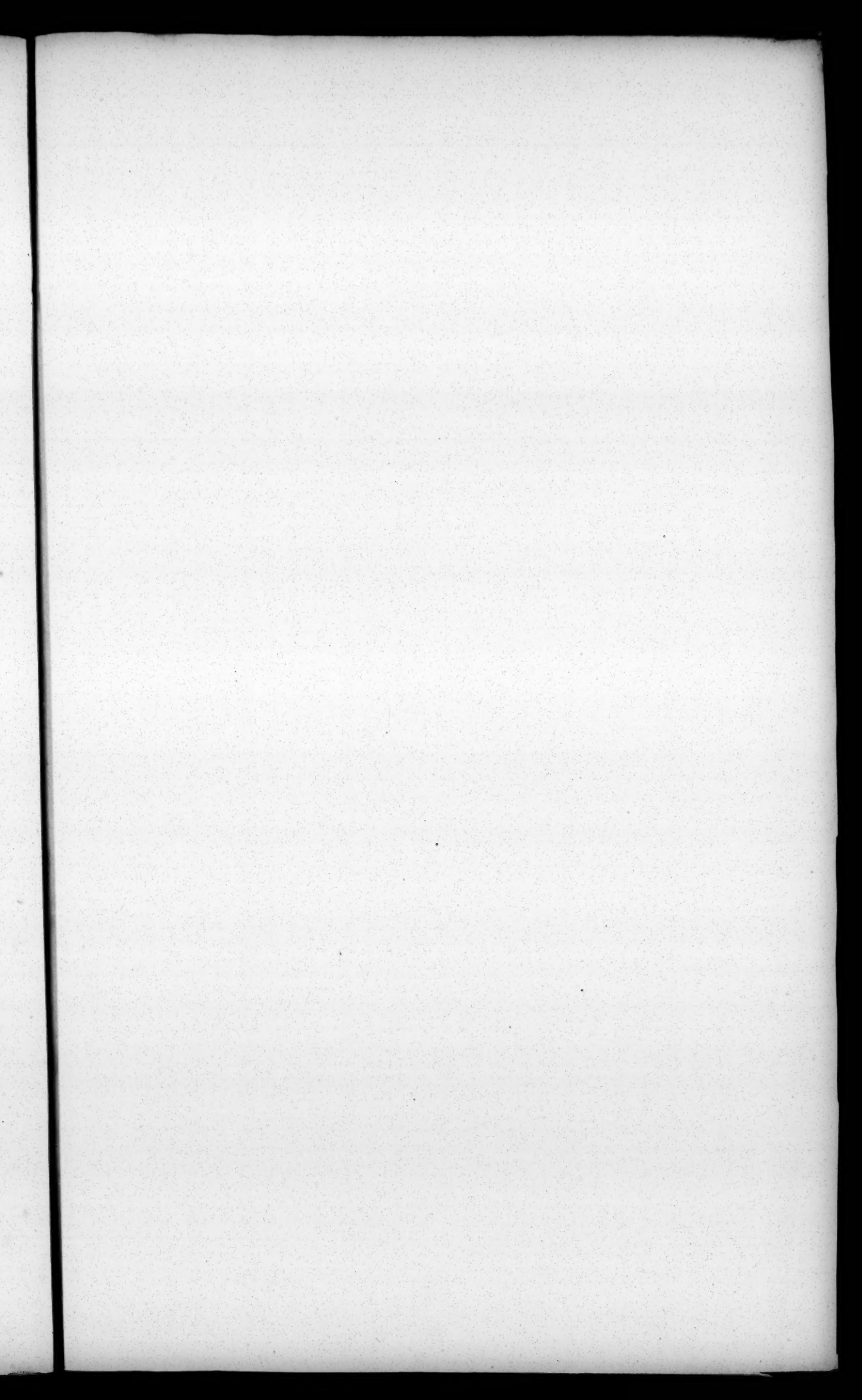
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withal, I will then say and prove it unto you at large, *A Domino factum est hoc, & mirabile est in oculis nostris.* Sir, if I should write all unto you that I have a Desire to let you know, both for the publick and my private, I should not end my Letter before the Time that I hope we shall beat the *Spaniards*; but having been up most of this Night, it groweth now about 4 o' Clock in the Morning, at which Time I lightly choose to visit our Guards myself, and am now going about that Business in a Morning as cold as a Stone, and as dark as Pitch, and I pray, Sir, think whether this be a Life that I take much delight in, who heretofore in *England*, when I have had a Suit to the Queen, could not lie in a Tent in the Summer, nor watch at Night till she had supped; but by God, Sir, I will do for Queen *Elizabeth* that which I will not do for myself, and willingly, and be you my Pledge that I will faithfully serve her against all the World, or any in the World, or else, I beseech God, now I am going out, that I may never return alive to my House of Turf, in the which I write this at her Majesty's Camp before *Kinsale* this 13th of *November*, 1601.

The End of the First Volume.







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